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# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-112
Monday
14 June 1993

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## Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-112

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*14 June 1993*

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## CIS Officials Attend North Atlantic Council Session

### Kozyrev Addresses Session

*LD1106133293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1154 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vladimir Malyshev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Athens, 11 Jun—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has spelled out the principal areas in which work is needed to turn the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) into an "effective peacekeeping instrument." Speaking today at the opening of the NACC session in Vouliagmeni, a resort on the outskirts of Athens, he said peacekeeping is now a key aspect of international politics, one which has become a particularly acute issue in the "former communist world."

According to the Russian minister, it is essential "to speed up the formation of an effective security system." Now that the threat of a premeditated attack in Europe has been reduced to a minimum, other threats—interethnic conflicts, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and terrorism—are more real. Joint peacekeeping, the speaker stressed, also implies radical confidence-building measures, consolidating an atmosphere of mutual understanding, and partnership in strengthening peace.

A. Kozyrev proposed that "a channel be opened for constant communications between the NACC and the CSCE." This, he said, is essential both to the realization of the CSCE's political role, which is recognized by everybody as a priority, and to the speedy resolution of organizational and technical problems involved in specific peacekeeping missions. The Russian minister feels it is important to continue work on problems arising out of UN peacekeeping operations, for instance by participating in the preparation of a report by the UN secretary general on ways of raising the effectiveness of such operations, or else a jointly prepared document on this subject at the forthcoming session of the UN General Assembly.

The minister said it is extremely important to step up opposition to aggressive nationalism, including by means of "internal prevention of conflicts." What I am referring to here, A. Kozyrev explained, is the defense of the universal rights of the individual and of ethnic and other minorities without any dual standards. He called for cooperation in the material sphere. "Taking account of the ever-increasing burden of peacekeeping which Russia is bearing," A. Kozyrev said, "it is understandable that we should raise the question of financial and material assistance from the international community."

In the opinion of the head of the Russian diplomatic service, the situation in former Yugoslavia will be a test of all the NACC's ideas and of whether NATO and other structures can use their capacities in the sphere of peacekeeping. In the setting up of security zones in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in other possible measures aimed at making consistent progress toward a political settlement, the experience and practical assistance of NACC members are acutely needed everywhere, both on an individual and on a multilateral basis. Peacekeeping ability, A. Kozyrev noted in conclusion, is now one of the main criteria for assessing a state's might. The development by each of our countries of such might is in accord not only with its own national-state interests but also with universal requirements.

### Zlenko Speaks About Security Issues

*LD1206222793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] A meeting has been held in Athens of foreign ministers of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, including NATO member states, states of the former Warsaw Bloc, and also the legal successors of the countries of the former Soviet Union. A final document adopted on the results of the meeting by the ministers of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council speaks, in particular, about the need to elaborate an effective mechanism of peace actions under the aegis of the United Nations Organization and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The foreign ministers stress that all problems which now emerge in the process of democratic transformations in Europe should be tackled solely through peaceful negotiations.

Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko delivered a speech on political issues and issues of security. He drew the attention of the meeting participants to the illegal actions of the Russian Federation with regard to the Black Sea Fleet and also to the problems existing in relations between Ukraine and Russia, as far as the Black Sea Fleet division is concerned. At the proposal of the Ukrainian delegation the ministers considered the situation which has taken shape at the Black Sea Fleet. A significant part of the meeting participants, in particular the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Belgium, and others, supported the stand taken by Ukraine.

As a result of the discussion, in their final document the participants in the Athens meeting spoke out unanimously in support of practical steps toward settling the existing contradictions between Russia and Ukraine on issues of the Black Sea Fleet and nuclear weapons, in compliance with the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and international law, and in the spirit of good-neighborly relations.

Due to the obstinate stand of the Russian delegation a provision on respect of territorial integrity and inviolability of the existing borders was exempt from the text. Such a stand evoked the explicable indignation of the participants in the Athens meeting. In the capital of Greece the foreign minister of Ukraine met NATO's Secretary General Manfred Woerner, and also had a conversation with the foreign minister of the Netherlands and the U.S. secretary of state.

### Latest Armed Forces Reduction Talks End in Beijing

*LD1106102393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0630 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] The 10th round of talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and strengthening trust in the military field in border areas between delegations from Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan and from the PRC has ended in Beijing. The atmosphere at the talks indicated a desire to seek mutually acceptable solutions.

The talks will be resumed in Moscow this fall.

### Conference Stresses Need for Aid, Guarantees in Disarmament

*AU1406115493 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 9 Jun 93 pp 1, 2*

[Report by unidentified HOLOS UKRAYINY correspondent from Kiev: "Guarantees, Capital, and Accurate Information"]

[Text] **The Ukrainian Institute of International Relations held a conference on "Nuclear Weapons and the Security of New Independent States."**

As our newspaper reported, this conference took place on 3-5 June. Scientists, statesmen, and political figures, as well as representatives of the public from Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, Ukraine, the Netherlands, Germany, the United States, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Canada, and other countries took part in its work. They included such well-known figures as Dr. Robert Gail [name as transliterated] (the United States); representative of the NATO Directorate for Nuclear Planning Gregory Shulte [name as transliterated]; Director of the Amsterdam "Glasnost and Perestroyka" Institute Hank Volzak [name as transliterated]; and Professor Omelyan Kushpeta (the latter two from the Netherlands); President of the Belarusian Institute of Problems of Development and Security Vladimir Baryshevskiy; State Adviser of the Kazakhstan Republic Tulegen Zhukeyev; officials of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defense, as well as other scientists and political figures. The Ukrainian delegation at the conference was headed by First Deputy Minister of Defense Colonel General Ivan Bizhan. Members of the Presidium of Ukraine's Supreme Council Dmytro Pavlychko and Valentyn Lemish took part in the work of the conference.

In its striving to achieve a nuclear-free status, Ukraine encounters numerous problems. The most significant of which are these: The absence of distinct international and legal guarantees of security and inviolability on the part of nuclear powers and the absence of money. Both of these must be provided, in full extent, by nuclear powers, because Ukraine's nuclear disarmament corresponds to the interests of the entire mankind. Moreover, since confrontation between two systems has disappeared from the world, nuclear powers must also embark upon the road of intensive nuclear disarmament.

It must be pointed out that Ukraine's position regarding nuclear disarmament is being misrepresented in the Western and Russian mass media. It is demanded that we conduct unconditional disarmament, in fact, at our own expense. The meager sum of assistance quoted by the United States ($175 million) will, perhaps, only suffice for studying the problem, because $2.8 billion is necessary for Ukraine's nuclear disarmament. Besides, there are still no technologies in the world to deal with all aspects of rendering nuclear weapons harmless. How can anybody demand that Ukraine use something that is nonexistent? In short, there are enough problems. Our state, with its crisis situation in the economy, cannot resolve them on its own. Besides, Ukraine demands security guarantees. Because various political forces in neighboring countries have territorial claims upon it. What is going to happen if these forces come to power or seize it there?

Valentin Kuznetsov, representative of the Russian Ministry of Defense, spoke at the conference about the work on disarmament that Russia is conducting. He also mentioned that his state had provided security guarantees for Ukraine. He only failed to mention that, in accordance with those proposals, the inviolability of Ukraine's borders is guaranteed "within the framework of the CIS." In other words, a condition is being put forward that is unacceptable for an independent state. What if Ukraine withdraws from the CIS in one year or 20 years, what then?

The conference has shown that our state's position is, in many ways, supported by Belarus and Kazakhstan who are faced with similar problems. In short, the exchange of opinions was quite useful.

Professor Viktor Pashchuk, director of the Ukrainian Institute of International Relations, said this:

**"Little is known in western Europe and in the world about the problems that Ukraine and other independent states are confronted with. That is why it was decided to draw attention to our initiatives and to the positions of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia and to disclose the entire complexity of issues to the world public opinion, because various speculations are being spread in the world about the positions of the new independent states. Political scientists and experts from Western countries were given a chance to get a deeper insight into the situation. It is good that our institute has conditions for holding such conferences and may serve as Ukraine's informal window on the world.**

The participants in the conference adopted a tentative address stating, in particular, that the change in the bipolar pattern of the world creates a unique possibility for starting an unprecedented dismantling of the world's nuclear arsenals. In this connection, Ukraine's intention to get rid of its nuclear weapons voluntarily is welcomed and the need for international legal guarantees of security and practical assistance on the part of the world community is emphasized.

## International Security Conference Held in Minsk

*LD1006163393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 10 Jun 93*

[By correspondent Aleksey Zhuk from Minsk on meeting of East-West officials, including recorded interview with G.I.Danilov, chief of the Belarus Council of Ministers' Defense Directorate; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Military men, civilians, diplomats, scientists, and deputies from various countries of the West and the CIS are discussing military-political aspects of the new independent states' national security. This international conference is being convened for the first time, and it is symbolic that the capital of Belarus, situated at the strategic crossroads of the most important east-west route, has been chosen as its venue.

Belarus has made a final choice in favor of a neutral, nuclear-free state, and is interested in setting up a system of regional security.

[Danilov] It is a question of discussing certain problems, such as the training of military cadres and questions connected with aviation and air defense. We are thinking about how to pool our efforts, especially as the NATO bloc does not intend to break up. We need to think about how to pool our efforts following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and how to ensure security.

[Zhuk] Within the framework of the CIS?

[Danilov] Within the framework of the CIS. Incidentally, the treaty was concluded and signed in Viskuli and envisages a single military doctrine. Of late, politicians in certain republics have started to forget this. We need to work out aspects on this question.

## Pacific Economic Council Session Held in Khabarovsk

*PM1106111993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jun 93 First Edition p 7*

[Sergey Ponomarev report: "We Rush To Enter When Doors Are Opened..."]

[Text] Khabarovsk—The assault force that recently came to Khabarovsk was not only remarkable in terms of its participants' multicolored flags, although the fact that they belonged to business circles in the United States, Japan Canada, Australia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other leading industrial countries and territories in the Pacific region inspires respect. The importance of this event lies elsewhere: This is the first time that an official delegation of the Pacific Economic Council [PEC]—a nongovernmental organization comprising around 1,000 major companies, firms, and banks in the Asia-Pacific region—has come to Russia's Far East.

In its 25-year existence the PEC has become an all-around instrument for formulating coordinated economic policy in the vast area that aspires to a dominant role in the world economy by the end of the century. The doors to this "regional state planning commission" were tightly shut to our country until recently. Now there seems to have been a breakthrough.

The council session that has just ended in Seoul was attended for the first time by a delegation of the Russian National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation. What is more, a "Russian section" operated there, and its work continued with the Pacific businessmen's trip to the Amur region and then to Vladivostok and perhaps Russia's only real free economic zone, Nakhodka.

Robert Lis [surname as transliterated], general director of the PEC International Secretariat, pointed out at a plenary session in Khabarovsk that the "session's participants came here to have a look and ask questions."

I think, however, that the PEC members' "face-to-face" meetings with possible partners from the region's krays and oblasts and the joint work in sections on "profile" [profilnyy] areas including trade, shipbuilding, power generation, mineral resources, and light industry have made it possible to dispel the Western businessmen's remaining preconceptions to a considerable extent.

At any rate the concept of "open regionalism," proclaimed as one of the priorities in Russian foreign policy, is today acquiring quite definite outlines in the Far East. Thanks to the activity of the Far East Regional Center of the Russian National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation, set up in Khabarovsk less than a year ago, major international cooperation projects are replacing countless, inefficient contracts with small foreign firms.

### Official Comments on End of U.S. Nuclear Test Freeze

*LD1106155293 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] The nine-month American freeze on nuclear tests ends on 1 July. Reports have appeared in the mass media in America and other countries about Washington's intention to not extend it. A Radio Moscow correspondent has met with (Oleg Sakhalov), who heads Russia's Foreign Ministry's department for disarmament and control over military technologies. Here is what he said when asked what such a step by Washington could lead to:

[Sakhalov, in Russian with superimposed English translation] When deciding on whether to resume nuclear tests or not, the United States, as well as all other nuclear countries, should always keep in mind what aftermaths this could have for the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. It seems to me, continued (Oleg Sakhalov), this step should be seriously weighed because the result could be the undermining of the treaty and its erosion. Besides, the nonnuclear countries would have a pretext for taking action that doesn't fall in the line with the regime of nuclear nonproliferation. So, from the point of view, and consequently from the point of view of security in the world, the decision on nuclear tests should be exceedingly responsible and carefully weighed. [sentence as heard] We believe, said the representative of Russia's Foreign Ministry, that in the event the freeze on the testings is over it is very important to keep in mind the prospect of fully banning them. As for Russia, it continues to favor a ban on all nuclear tests.

[Announcer] When answering a question about Moscow's stand in connection with the term of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty expiring in 1995, (Oleg Sakhalov) said this:

[Sakhalov, in Russian with superimposed English translation] Firstly, Russia is for extending the treaty, and secondly, making it permanent if that proves possible. That would be in the interests of a nonnuclear world, in the interests of international strategic stability, and indeed in the interests of all countries.

### Kozyrev Says Yeltsin To Meet Clinton This Year

*LD1106155893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1426 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vladimir Malyshev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Athens, 11 Jun—Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President Bill Clinton should meet this year, and now it is Moscow's turn. However, the exact time of holding a meeting has not been determined yet, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said.

This was his comment today in a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent on the statement by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher at the NATO Council session in Athens to the effect that the presidents of two states will meet "sometime nearer to the planned NATO summit." President Bill Clinton suggested on Thursday that such a NATO meeting be held before the end of this year in order to broaden cooperation of member countries in solving crisis situations in Europe like the conflicts in former Yugoslavia.

### Alaska Airlines Inaugurates Anchorage-Vladivostok Route

*PM1106103593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jun 93 First Edition p 1*

[RIA report: "New Air Route Links Vladivostok To Alaska"]

[Text] Alaska Airlines made its first passenger-carrying flight to Vladivostok 9 June. This flight from one side of the Pacific to the other inaugurates a regular Anchorage-Vladivostok international passenger route.

It is planned to arrange air links with China, South Korea, and other Asia-Pacific region countries in the very near future.

### Serb Academics Decry 'Genocide by Sanctions'

*PM1106134193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 5*

[Ye. Popov article: "Genocide by Sanctions, and the Case Against Clinton, Kohl, Mitterrand, Major, and Yeltsin Which Could Be Examined First of All by an International Tribunal"]

[Text] The USIA, which expresses the opinion of the U.S. Administration, has announced that a significant sum—$31.2 million—has been allocated for the first year of work by the international tribunal set up by a UN Security Council decision in order to investigate war crimes on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. A total of 11 judges from various countries will be assisted by a large staff of skilled specialists numbering up to 300 people. The USIA describes the United States as the principal originator of the idea of establishing the tribunal and cites the view of an anonymous White House spokesman who says that this action "was regarded by the Clinton administration as a top priority" and that the United States is "very pleased" because "on all the most important aspects, the adopted statute coincides with the draft proposed by the United States."

Meanwhile the international tribunal, if it really intends to objectively and impartially investigate crimes against humanity which have been perpetrated and continue to be perpetrated in the former Yugoslavia, should start by giving a legal appraisal of the actions of the United States and its allies, specifically with regard to the orchestration of the anti-Serbian information and propaganda campaign, and also an appraisal of the malicious and biased accusations implying that only one of the sides in the military conflict is guilty of all the deadly sins, moreover the very side toward which the United States and the West have behaved and are continuing to behave with a particularly high degree of perfidy and cynicism. In this sense one of the passages from the White House spokesman's interview by the USIA correspondent merits the international tribunal's attention—the part stating that "tough economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro can remain in force even after the adoption of a peace plan..."

Guests from the Serbian-Russian Friendship Society visited the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office a few days ago. Journalists' questions were answered by Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor Smilja Avramov [surname as published]; Zoran Obrenovic, well-known journalist, political analyst, and philosopher; and Lazar Trpkovic, secretary of the Serbian-Russian Friendship Society and an academic from Belgrade Telecommunications and Electronics Institute. Various topics were touched on, and we intend to give a detailed account of this discussion in the newspaper. But our friends from Belgrade asked us to emphasize one problem in particular. Dr. Smilja Avramov defined this problem as "genocide by sanctions."

"The so-called sanctions being applied against Yugoslavia," she stated, "are, strictly speaking, not sanctions at all, because international law resolutely forbids collective punishments whose victims could be totally innocent people, people who are sick and in need of protection and treatment, moreover. In this case, the heaviest sanctions in human history are being applied against an entire people. Do people in Russia know that, as a result of these genocidal measures, massive numbers of sick people are dying because of a lack of medicines...?"

...In blessed peacetime days, when the very thought of the total disintegration of Yugoslavia would have seemed like the ravings of a madman, the humorist Dejan Patanovic published a short parable in the popular "Kaktus" section of the Belgrade newspaper POLITIKA-EKSPRES which scarcely needs translating into Russian owing to the close kinship of our languages: "People in Belgrade have caught colds, but there is no flu. Have imports been forbidden, then?"

Unfortunately there is no ban on importing diseases even when the most draconian sanctions apply. But as far as medicines and the raw materials for preparing them are concerned, in this case the ban is backed up by firm guarantees and consequently a real campaign of genocide is basically being mapped out with sadistic professionalism. This is what an observer from THE NEW YORK TIMES noted with undisguised satisfaction back in August 1992, when the United States had only begun to "tighten the nuts" of economic sanctions: "The medical service in Yugoslavia, which was once one of the best in southern Europe, is currently deteriorating as a result of sanctions... Belgrade's hospitals no longer have any anticancer drugs, stocks of antibiotics are dwindling, and most of the x-ray equipment no longer works. Only urgent operations are being performed. There are not enough vaccines to protect children against measles, polio, and other diseases."

And how did U.S. President Bill Clinton act when he inherited a more than shameful legacy from the Bush administration—the genocidal nature of sanctions against the Serbian people? He thought that even this barbarous behavior was insufficient! As the White House communications director announced at a news conference, Clinton proposed stepping up the economic pressure.

But that is not the end of the story. In the opinion of Dr. Smilja Avramov, the measures designed to isolate Serbia behind an "iron curtain" in the sphere of science, culture, art, and sports are particularly criminal. "I protest as a scientist," she states. "These sanctions not only thoroughly contravene international law but also constitute a crime against humanity...!"

Since these crimes are fairly obvious, let us permit ourselves to make not so much a paradoxical but an inevitable suggestion based on the testimony of Dr. Smilja Avramov and the other Belgrade academics: Set the international tribunal to work to examine the case of Clinton, Kohl, Mitterrand, Major, Yeltsin, and the other individuals responsible for introducing—for the first time in human history—genocidal sanctions against the Serbian people. Incidentally, under the statute proposed by the United States and approved by the UN Security Council, the international tribunal can serve an indictment regardless of whether the suspects have been arrested or not: The main point is that the accused should become international pariahs...!

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## Kozyrev Holds Talks With Greece's Papakonstandinou

*LD1406085193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0830 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Malyshev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Athens June 14 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is staying here on an official visit, held talks with his Greek counterpart Mikhail Papakonstandinou at the Foreign Ministry of Greece on Monday.

The sides discussed the whole range of bilateral relations between Greece and Russia, as well as the countries' cooperation in the region of the Mediterranean and Black seas. Special attention was paid to the situation in the Balkans. The ministers expressed their interest in settling the Yugoslavian conflict as soon as possible.

Andrey Kozyrev laid a wreath to the tomb of the unknown soldier in Athens on Monday morning.

### Meets Greek Prime Minister

*LD1406103893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0945 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Malyshev and Georgiy Shmelyev]

[Text] Athens, 14 Jun—The Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is on an official visit here, met Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis today. The Russian Ambassador to Greece, Valeriy Nikolayenko, and other officials took part in the meeting.

A detailed exchange of opinions took place on the main directions of bilateral cooperation between Russia and Greece, and cooperation between the countries of the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions. The sides especially underlined their interest in the establishment of peace and stability in the Balkans, and spoke in favor of an urgent halt to the bloody conflict in former Yugoslavia and for a settlement to the crisis by peaceful means.

During the meeting a positive assessment was given to the results of the session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) that was held in Athens and in which the Russian minister took part.

Some issues of economic cooperation were discussed. The Greek side expressed its firm support for the program of democratic reforms that is being implemented by the Russian leadership. Greece, in the capacity of future chairman of the EC (from 1 December 1994), stated its readiness to assist in developing links between Russia and the European Community.

### Signs Diplomatic Travel Agreement

*LD1406133293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1235 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vladimir Malyshev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Athens, 14 June—The official visit to Greece by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev culminated here today in the signing of an agreement on employees' free travel. It was signed by Foreign Minister Mikhail Papakonstandinou on behalf of the Greek side. The document provides for the free travel of diplomatic missions' employees and other categories of Russian and Greek citizens in Russia and Greece. A joint statement made in connection with the signing of the agreement says that by signing it the sides have confirmed their adherence to traditionally friendly and close relations of long-standing between Russia and Greece. They also confirmed the importance of direct ties for building up mutual trust given new conditions which prevail in Europe and in the world.

## Further on Chinese Seizure of Russian Trawler

### Spokesman Comments on China's Actions

*LD1106160093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] A briefing on current foreign policy issues was held at the Foreign Ministry's press center today. Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, head of the Foreign Ministry's information department, read out the following statement:

[Begin Yastrzhembskiy recording] According to the Russian Committee for Fishery, the Russian trawler Soyuz-4, which was on its way to Singapore from the port of Nakhodka, was seized by a PRC naval warship in international waters in the East China Sea at 1600 Moscow time on 9 June. There are reports that firearms were used in the incident. The vessel and its crew were then escorted to the port of Ningbo, where it has remained since.

We regard the Chinese Navy's armed attack on a Russian fishing vessel and the illegal seizure of the vessel as a most blatant violation of the norms of international law. I stress that the trawler had no fishing equipment [as heard] or cargo on board. We would like to draw attention to the fact that this is not the first occasion that the Chinese side has illegally seized Russian vessels. We are particularly concerned that firearms are being used against civilian vessels. Through diplomatic channels, both in Moscow and in Beijing, the Russian side is taking urgent measures aimed at securing an immediate release of the vessel, at launching a thorough investigation, and at punishing those guilty of illegally detaining the Russian vessel.

We also drew the attention of the Chinese side to the fact that another vessel with a Russian crew, seized on 19 March this year, had not yet been released. In order to settle this latest incident and to prevent possible new arbitrary attempts against Russian citizens, a representative of the Russian embassy in Beijing has been sent to the port of (?Qingdao).

I cannot see any link between this incident and the situation that has arisen around the Okhotsk Sea. [end recording]

[Correspondent] This was Sergey Yastrzhembskiy's statement.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the PRC Foreign Ministry told ITAR-TASS that his ministry cannot at this stage supply any information to shed light on the incident.

### Fate of Crew Unknown

*LD1106162793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1534 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Grigoriy Arslanov and Pavel Spirin]

[Text] Beijing June 11 TASS—The fate of 39 Russian seamen, the crew of the Soyuz-4, a large refrigerator trawler arrested by a Chinese patrol boat on June 9 in international waters of the east China Sea, is unknown even on the second day after their disappearance.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman told ITAR-TASS by telephone on Friday that his ministry cannot now supply any information on this incident. "We shall possibly answer you tomorrow after circumstances are cleared," he said.

The Russian Embassy in Beijing made an inquiry at the Chinese Foreign Ministry on the same day concerning the trawler's arrest, demanding an investigation, punishment of the guilty and an end to similar incidents in future.

The Russian consulate-general in Shanghai was instructed to contact the authorities of the Zhejiang Province where the arrested Russian vessel stands offshore and to meet the Soyuz-4 captain to find out circumstances under which the ship was seized. The Russian Embassy does not even know the exact location of the trawler.

The Soyuz-4 was heading from the Nakhodka port to Singapore as a transport.

The Liberian Champion tanker, where several Russian seamen work as crew members, received a message from the Soyuz-4 at 12:00, Moscow time on June 10. The message described circumstances of the arrest.

The message was transmitted by the trawler's radioman via a ship's boat radio transceiver which he took from the deck unnoticed by Chinese. The message received by the Russian Embassy said that the trawler was fired on and stopped by a naval boat without identification markings.

An armed group numbering 20 or more boarded the vessel. All Russians, apart from several seamen, were herded to the mess bowl, and the ship was ordered to sail for the Chinese coast. The Chinese ordered the crew to go to cabins when the vessel approached Chinese territorial waters.

The captain's log book and all other documents were seized from Captain Viktor Kulikov under the threat of firearms when the ship approached the outer roads of a Chinese naval base. The ship's radio station was sealed up. Chinese submachine-gunners constantly patrolled the trawler.

The vessel was 120 miles away from the Chinese coast when it was arrested.

### China Releases Trawler

*LD1306140693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1346 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Spirin]

[Text] Beijing June 13 TASS—The Chinese authorities released the Russian "Soyuz-4" trawler which they arrested on June 9 in the international waters of the East China Sea.

The foreign relations committee of the Zhejiang Province said on Sunday [13 Jun] that the Russian ship was refueled, provided with food and water and was allowed late on Saturday to leave with all the thirty-nine crew members on board.

The Russian consulate-general in Shanghai said the ship was detained by a Chinese coast guard vessel and taken to the island of Puto of the Zhoushan Archipelago.

According to reports from the ship, the Chinese coast guards threatened the crew with submachine guns, confiscated the ship's register and sealed the radio station. Soldiers armed with submachine guns were constantly guarding the vessel.

Local Chinese authorities claimed that the trawler was arrested on charges of smuggling. However, as the crew managed to report by means of a life boat radio station, no concrete charges had been brought either against the captain or any of the crew members by the Chinese coast guard authorities.

During the arrest, the trawler was sailing 120 miles away from the Chinese coast bound for Singapore.

### Article on 'Lies' of PRC Nuclear Weapons in Tibet

*PM1106154193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 3*

[Andrey Krushinskiy report under the "Rejoinder" rubric: "Ostankino 'Sells' Dead 'Duck'"]

[Text] Beijing, 9 Jun—"Certain circles in Britain are playing old games, disseminating lies that China has deployed nuclear weapons in Tibet," Gyaincain Norbu, chairman of the PRC Tibetan Autonomous Region, said in a lengthy statement on the current situation in Tibet published in Chinese newspapers 3 June, and on 8 June at midday, catching a review of international events as carried by Moscow television, I heard the "news" that "China has probably deployed its very latest weapons in Tibet."

Britain has its own "scores" to settle with China—in particular over Tibet, after which the "master of the seas" hankered as long as just over 100 years ago, when it waged the "opium wars" (for the British merchants' right to trade in opium on Chinese soil). China is a thorn in the flesh for some people today: Things are going well there in contrast with those postcommunist countries which, under the patronage of the West, have opted for the "shock therapy version" of market reform. Hence there is a desire to somehow at least censure this state, if not to shake its stability. This is the underlying cause for the fabrication of a whole flock of anti-Beijing "canards" in London and other Western capitals, ranging from claims that Buddhists are being persecuted in Tibet to fabrications concering "nuclear bases."

Now a refutation has ensued from an authoritative source. So why does Ostankino now suddenly need to sell a secondhand propaganda "canard" which has already been refuted?

Chinese propaganda, I can testify, is impeccable as regards Russia. China is, moreover, one of the few countries with which our trade and economic relations are on the rise. Surely television journalists value the current state of Russian-Chinese relations—virtually the only positive aspect of our entire "perestroyka" policy.

### Yeltsin, Kravchuk To Meet in Moscow on 17 Jun

*LD1206100993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0858 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jun—President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk will fly to Moscow on 17 June to meet the president of Russia, said Boris Yeltsin at a news conference in the Kremlin today. An agreement on the meeting was reached following a 30-minute night conversation between the two presidents. Boris Yeltsin pointed out that Leonid Kravchuk is worried primarily by oil deliveries from Russia to Ukraine. Boris Yeltsin said the reason for "turning off the taps" was the failure of the Ukrainian side to pay for fuel delivered from Russia.

In the words of the Russian Federation president, settlements to the Black Sea fleet problems, that will also be discussed during the meeting, were "got moving" by the fuel issue. The Russian president also made it known that on 18 June, following his meeting with the president of Ukraine, he will go to Yakutia on a working visit.

### Impact of Kozyrev Georgia Visit, Talks Assessed

*PM1106160193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 1*

[Report by Besik Urigashvili: "Shevardnadze Prepared To Announce Referendum for Sake of Concluding Treaty With Russia"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev's visit to Georgia has ended. Another effort has been made to end the armed conflict between the Georgians and the Abkhazians.

After a private meeting, lasting 90 minutes, and a plenary session involving all the delegation members, E. Shevardnadze and A. Kozyrev expressed satisfaction with the results of the talks.

But one should not expect too much from the Russian foreign minister's peacemaking efforts. In the Georgian political establishment confidence in Russia as a mediator in the settlement of conflicts has fallen to zero following the unsuccessful attempts to stop the bloodshed during the previous meetings between B. Yeltsin and Shevardnadze. Moreover, each of these attempts resulted in further losses for Georgia at the war front. Tbilisi is more inclined to look to the relevant CSCE and UN structures. To all appearances, the Abkhazians are not exactly seduced by the results of the visit either. While the Russian minister was talking with Shevardnadze, Abkhaz artillery was continuing to shell residential areas of Sukhumi.

On the same day, T. Nadareishvili, chief of the Georgian administration in Sukhumi and the most authoritative political figure among the Georgian political leaders of Abkhazia, said in a Georgian television interview that he did not believe in a peaceful settlement of the conflict and that the military option was the only way for Georgia.

Kozyrev's visits to Gudauta and Sukhumi, where he flew immediately after the meeting in Tbilisi, brought results that were of little consolation. At any rate, the statements both by Ardzinba and by Nadareishvili do not inspire much optimism. The sides continue to accuse one another of not wanting to sit down at the negotiating table. And Ardzinba reiterated his thesis about the withdrawal of Georgian forces as a preliminary condition of a truce. Nadareishvili rejected the possibility of talks with Ardzinba. It is not clear whether the Russian minister agreed with the Gudauta and Sukhumi leaders on devising a concrete and effective cease-fire mechanism—which was in fact the main aim of the visit.

The Georgian's side's agreement in principle to resume humanitarian aid to the inhabitants of Tkvarcheli and Sukhumi was a positive result of the visit. The zone of the city of Gagra was, at Shevardnadze's insistence, added to these two regions. According to Shevardnadze, under the accord that has been reached aid will be given not by air, as was done in the past, but by land—using trucks and railroad transport. This will facilitate the Georgian side's task of monitoring the content of the loads and make it possible to increase their volume.

Another fact must be mentioned: Immediately after the meeting with Kozyrev the head of the Georgian state said that the signing of an all-embracing treaty of friendship and cooperation with Russia is a vital matter for Georgia. If parliament digs its heels in and delays the conclusion of the treaty, Shevardnadze reserves the right to insist on a referendum. Considering Georgia's very serious economic position and the almost total collapse of the country's financial system, the result of the referendum is not in doubt.

### Chernomyrdin Issues Order on Aid for Abkhazia

*LD1406150593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1312 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jun—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin today signed a government order giving

Sergey Shoygu, chairman of the Russian State Committee for Emergencies, the right to resolve all issues relating to the implementation of the operation to deliver humanitarian aid to Abkhazia and evacuate people from the conflict zone there, an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the Russian Federation government press center. The Russian Ministries of Defense, Foreign Affairs, Security, Transport, and Finance and the Federal Migration Service are instructed to do what is needed of them in carrying out the operation and to send authorized representatives to join the working group of the State Committee for Emergencies.

## Kozyrev, Barannikov Visit to Yerevan Viewed

*PM1106171393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 1*

[Report by Sergey Balumyan: "Russian Ministers in Yerevan"]

[Text] Yerevan—The brief visit to Yerevan by Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev and Security Minister V. Barannikov ended 10 June.

During their meeting with Armenian President L. Ter-Petrosyan the sides described the new Nagorno-Karabakh initiative by nine CSCE countries as a real opportunity that could lead to positive results.

If it is not supported by Stepanakert, however, the initiative cannot hope to succeed. But, according to local observers, the new version of the initiative is unlikely to suit the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, and this is confirmed by its leadership's rather restrained reaction.

## Foreign Ministry Airs 'Concern' Over Azerbaijan Situation

*LD1106172293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1640 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—"Recent events in Azerbaijan, which have led to armed clashes in Gyandzha and human casualties, have seriously worsened the internal political situation in this country. This can only cause profound concern in Russia," a statement by a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman published today said. "Russia and Azerbaijan," the statement says, "are linked by historical ties of good-neighborliness and cooperation. Russians are genuinly interested in an end to the bloodshed and violence in friendly Azerbaijan so that the democratic transformations that have begun in the sovereign Azerbaijani republic are crowned with success."

## Foreign Ministry Protests Latvian Provocations Against Army

*LD1106133793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1102 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Boris Krivoshey]

[Text] Moscow, 11 June —The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia is resolutely protesting against acts of provocation perpetrated against Russian servicemen in Latvia, and expresses the hope that the Latvian authorities will take measures to stop them. This was stated today at a briefing by Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the Department of Information and the Press of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

During the last few months, he said, Colonel General Leonid Mayorov, the authorized representative of the Russian Federation for issues relating to the temporary sojourn and withdrawal of the troops and naval forces on the territory of the Baltic countries, has repeatedly appealed to Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Latvian Supreme Council chairman, and other leaders of the Latvian Republic regarding a series of flagrant acts of violence perpetrated by subunits of the home guard, encouraged by the local authorities, against servicemen and members of their families, property, and facilities of the Russian Army. "In April and May of this year alone, nine incidents of the unlawful detention of Russian servicemen, sometimes for several days, have been registered. Methods were permitted in the treatment of the detained and at the interrogations that debased the human dignity of the Russian citizens; in two cases physical violence was used, and one student was injured by a firearm," the representative of the foreign political department of Russia noted.

The acts of provocation with regard to Russian servicemen, the Russian diplomat stressed, are continuing. In this connection, Col. Gen. Leonid Mayorov warned that he will be forced to give instructions for servicemen on the territory of Latvia to be issued with personal weapons. In his appeal to Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy reported, Col. Gen. Mayorov stated that, in the event of unlawful acts occurring with regard to the servicemen of the Russian Army and members of their families, instructions will be given regarding the issue of weapons and readiness to use them to ensure their safety, honor, and personal dignity. All responsibility for the unpredictable consequences that might come about in such situations lies as far as possible and fully with the authorities of the Latvian Republic.

Today a representation regarding this matter has been made to the Embassy of the Latvian Republic in Moscow, the Russian diplomat said.

## Yeltsin Letter to Nazarbayev About Baykonur Published

*PM1106140793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jun 93 p 1*

[Anatoliy Ladin report: "Russian President Concerned at Fate of Baykonur"]

[Text] Almaty—Citing the Baykonur Cosmodrome Press Center, the newspaper EKSPRESS K has published a letter from President Boris Yeltsin of Russia to President

Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan in which the Russian Federation president proposes deepening the two states' cooperation in ensuring the cosmodrome's vital activity.

Referring to the signed bilateral documents on the cosmodrome, Boris Yeltsin points out that a mechanism for realizing the agreements and accords reached has not yet clearly taken shape. This applies, above all, to such key questions for the cosmodrome's functioning as the legal status of the Russian formations, without which its activity would be paralyzed, the principles of shared funding, manning with personnel, and ensuring law and order and security at the cosmodrome.

Mindful of the historical responsibility of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan for the fate of the unique space infrastructure project, the Russian president suggested to Nursultan Nazarbayev that they discuss Baykonur's problems at a personal meeting, agree on ways to overcome them, and adopt the necessary decisions.

## FIS Denies Handing GDR Spy Documents to FRG

*LD1206082893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0714 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jun—The press center of Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service (FIS) has denied FRG press allegations that the Russian side has complied with the Germans' insistent requests and has begun to hand over to them certain materials of the former Chief Intelligence Directorate of the GDR Ministry of State Security.

"The press center of the Russian FIS is authorized to report that such allegations are totally contrary to reality and lack any foundation," a statement issued by the press center here today stresses.

"The FIS and, as far as we are aware, other Russian special services, have not handed to anyone any materials of the former GDR State Security Ministry. It has been explained to the German side on several occasions and at the appropriate level that we do not have, and have never had, any archive documents of the GDR State Security Ministry. There was an exchange of information and operational materials that was carried out on the basis of interdepartmental agreements between the GDR's State Security Ministry and the USSR's State Security Committee. We do not intend to be more specific about the nature and content of this exchange, as has also been stated on several occasions.

Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service hopes that the German side will also confirm that such reports are unfounded."

## Norwegians Inspect 6th Army Under Vienna Arrangements

*PM1106140793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jun 93 p 3*

[Russian Federation Defense Ministry Press Center report under "From Our News Bureau" rubric: "Request Met"]

[Text] In accordance with the provisions of the 1992 Vienna document on the talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe, on 2 June this year the Norwegian Government asked the Russian Federation Government for an assessment of information on the military forces in the Leningrad Military District's 6th Army, whose headquarters is located in Petrozavodsk.

The Norwegian side's request has been met, and in the course of 10 June representatives of the Norwegian armed forces made an assessment of information on the military forces in the Leningrad Military District's 6th Army.

## Finance Minister Begins Working Visit to Sweden

*LD1306191193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1830 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Vukolov]

[Text] Stockholm, 13 Jun—Boris Fedorov, Russia's finance minister and deputy chairman of the government of the Russian Federation, arrived in Sweden today on a working visit.

His itinerary includes conversations with Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt, Foreign Trade and European Affairs Minister Ulf Dinkelspiel, and Minister of Finance Anne Wibble.

A Russian-Swedish convention on avoiding double income taxation is expected to be signed during the visit.

## Russo-French Space Crew Prepares for July Launch

*OW1406090793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 8 Jun 93*

[Petr Orlov report over video; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] It is examinations time in Zvezdnyy Town. The first and second crews of the Russian-French expeditions are being examined. The first crew of Vasiliy Tsibliyev and Aleksandr Serebrov, its Russian component, are practicing their planned space walk in the hydrolaboratory. They need to do this to understand how this large structure, the latest truss, will behave in space. Another one has already been installed on the station. Their creators envisage that eventually it will be possible to build much larger and far more permanent stations than the current Mir station.

Generally this is a routine operation and its results will become clear only in the future when construction of a new station, the Mir-2 station, actually begins. Presently it exists only on paper.

Meanwhile the French member of the first crew, Jean-Pierre Haignere, has already completed his training and, to his own surprise, he will fly into space earlier than expected on 1 July—not two years but only a year after Michel Tognini. Jean-Pierre Haignere is in the first crew, while his colleague, Claude Deshays, is in the second crew. There is a difference over previous expeditions. The crews will fly to Baykonur next week, after which they will return before making the trip again for the launch. This is the first time a schedule of this sort has been used. The explanation is very simple. There is a problem with potable water at Baykonur. Things were never very good, but never as bad as today. So they will have to return to Moscow.

In the meantime they are expected on the Mir station. [video cuts to show crowded passage in the Mir station. A cosmonaut's voice can be heard saying it is difficult to move around because of "all kinds of imported equipment that we do not know if we will need or not, or when it will be needed"] Gennadiy Manakov, the commander of the current expedition, who made those comments, is not quite right. The French cosmonauts know how and when to use this equipment and that is why they are being sent up a year early. The fact is that their equipment has retained its usefulness and can still provide a lot of valuable information. That is why Jean-Pierre Haignere will be launched a year ahead of schedule and why another, previously unplanned, Russian-French flight is in the works.

In the meantime the Mir station crew of Gennadiy Manakov and Aleksandr Poleshchuk are preparing for a space walk. A handle has been delivered to them on the Progress cargo ship to replace the one they lost during their last space walk, and they are cheerfully preparing to continue their work outside the station.

The next part of this report deals specifically with cheerfulness. Several years ago cosmonauts were given the unique opportunity to talk not only with the Flight Control Center and their families, but with the whole world thanks to amateur radio communications. And we were able to hear this for the first time during our television linkup with the crew. It turns out that they do this very often and they have an enormous group of admirers.

That was a ham radio operator from Great Britain. (Gianino) is next from Italy. (Gianino) is such a clever Italian that he installed a huge antenna and watches the television linkups with the Mir station at the same time that we do. He sees the same things that we saw just now, how the cosmonauts conduct these sessions.

Now this is really serious. As Gennadiy Manakov and Aleksandr Poleshchuk, like many of their cosmonaut colleagues, told me later, they conduct entire classes for children in Australia, Austria, Great Britain, Europe, and America, describing what happens in space and how they live. They need to use English, but they are helped out by those who have studied Russian or have lived in Russia. So this is the kind of ham communications with space that they conduct.

## GATT Chief on Application for Membership

*LD1106135393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1243 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS—Arthur Dunkel, director-general of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), has expressed hope that the process of Russia's joining GATT will be as quick as possible. Speaking at a press conference today, he pointed out at the same time that the negotiating process would call for the intensive work of its participants.

Today President Yeltsin handed to Arthur Dunkel an official application for Russia's joining GATT, in which it was an observer for the past three years. According to Dunkel, the question of Russia's membership in GATT is the first on the agenda of the session of the Council of GATT Representatives scheduled for June 16.

GATT members believe Russia's membership in that organisation is most welcome, because it is an enormous economic market, Dunkel pointed out. On the other hand, it will be beneficial for Russia too, because it wants to become integrated in the world economic system and to take advantage of the predictable and safe opportunity of playing according to the common rules without any discrimination against it, Dunkel said.

The handing of the application for joining GATT is a natural step in the process of the implementation of the economic reform in Russia, Russian Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Sergey Glaziyev said. In his opinion, trade regime in Russia is now being based mostly on the GATT principles. "Membership in GATT is important for us for removing possible trade contradictions," the minister said.

## Foreign Ministry Denounces Attacks on UN in Somalia

*LD1106175893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1734 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Boris Krivoshey]

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS—Moscow took with profound concern and indignation the reports on armed attacks at U.N. units in Somalia, which resulted in the loss of life.

"We denounce the attacks and consider inadmissible a situation, when peace-making contingents of the international community, whose mission is to contribute to the stabilization of the situation in the country, national reconciliation and restoration of statehood, become the target of political ambitions of specific figures in Somalia," head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today.

The Russian side thinks the U.N. Security Council should discuss the safety of U.N. personnel no matter where it is and strictly warn all parties to conflicts on responsibility for actions against peace-making forces, describing the attacks at them as crimes against the international community, he stressed.

Russia calls for the soonest political settlement in Somalia, disarmament of non-regular armed units and provision of normal and peaceful life of the Somalia people, said Sergey Yastrzhembskiy.

### Yeltsin Sets Task To End G-7's 'Discrimination'

*LD1206123193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1038 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] Moscow June 12 TASS—The main task which President Boris Yeltsin sets before himself for the forthcoming Group-of-Seven summit in Tokyo in July is to "eliminate discrimination" against Russia.

Speaking at a press conference in the Kremlin on Saturday, Yeltsin emphasised that "Russia is no longer a communist country" and laws adopted earlier in this connection by other countries should not apply to Russia.

Yeltsin recalled that the process of lifting discriminatory laws and amendments had begun in the United States and other countries.

The president of Russia welcomed an intention of a number of western countries to set up joint stabilisation funds in support of privatisation in Russia. "This will only help our economy to develop," he said.

The president said that outside the framework of the G-7 summit on July 10, U.S. President Bill Clinton suggested having a luncheon to discuss a number of matters of bilateral relations, including a review of the implementation of the accords reached during the Vancouver meeting.

Touching upon the problem of Kurile islands, Yeltsin said that during a planned meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa he would not be able to tell him "anything new".

### Russian-EC 5th Round of Talks End in Brussels

*LD1206144993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0846 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels 12 June TASS—The 5th round of talks, which the European Community (EC) and Russia began in November last year on the conclusion of an agreement on cooperation and partnership, ended at the EC headquarters here on Friday night.

At one time it was not ruled out that this round of talks might be the last one and that a prepared draft agreement might be signed during the forthcoming EC summit in Copenhagen. The expectations, however, did not come true.

"We have never limited ourselves to a definite number of rounds of talks," Russian chief delegate Kirill Ivanov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Agency for International Cooperation and Development, told ITAR-TASS.

"Yes, we are for the earliest conclusion of such an agreement but it must be a really qualitatively new one as compared with the 1989 agreement between the EC and the Soviet Union, which Russia continues to follow as successor.

"Russian representatives set themselves as a distant goal to establish a free trade zone with talks to this effect to be started, say, in five years' time. The European Community agreed in principle to include this goal in a draft agreement. This is an important step forward. However, the EC has not yet decided on a specific date", the Russian chief delegate said.

Speaking about other contentious aspects, Ivanov said that, in his view, the EC makes an error by continuing to regard Russia as a country with a state-managed trading system, unlike, for example the Baltic states, despite the fact that Russia is well ahead of them in the pace of the reform process.

### Yelena Bonner Against Asian-Pacific Human Rights Document

*MK1106105493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 24, 11 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 10 Jun 93) p 10*

[Article by Yelena Bonner: "'Disgraceful Document.' This Is How Prominent Human Rights Activist Calls Declaration of Asian- Pacific Region Human Rights Conference"]

[Text] The Second World Conference on Human Rights will open in Vienna on 14 June. The previous one took place in Tehran in 1968. Within that quarter of a century the world has changed, and a new attitude to human rights has emerged (at least formally). This, however, did not help reduce their violations, but created new problems, and is why the importance of the event cannot be underestimated. And this makes it even more important for international and national human rights organizations to study and publicly discuss, even before the opening of the Vienna conference, the declarations adopted by regional meetings that were held in the run-up to the conference in Latin America (San Jose), North America (Atlanta), Africa (Tunis), and in the countries of Asia and the Pacific Region (Bangkok). It is essential to understand to what extent they correspond to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, its universal nature that excludes a dual approach, its letter and spirit.

This is particularly important for the CIS countries and Russia, because they are now at the stage of creating their constitutions, which are to ensure the protection of human rights. In particular, the draft of a Russian Constitution proposed by the president devotes the first section precisely to human rights, and a number of its articles contain direct references to the Universal Declaration and other international documents (unfortunately, without giving specific reference to what particular documents are meant, which is impermissible for a constitution).

Regarding the aforesaid declarations, I would like to draw your attention to the Bangkok document, although the Tunisian one also gives cause for concern. The Bangkok declaration appears to be a dangerous departure from previously reached human rights agreements. Its preamble notes the importance of the upcoming conference, its commitment to the UN Charter, and the Universal Declaration, and emphasizes the impermissibility of a dual approach to human rights. However, 29 articles of the substantive part are at odds with both the preamble and each other. The recognition of the universal nature of human rights is followed by a clause saying that they should be viewed "taking into account the importance of national and religious peculiarities, and different historical, cultural, and religious backgrounds."

The right to development is reaffirmed "as the universal and inalienable human right, which is to be exercised by way of international cooperation and the respect for human rights." But at the same time the document denounces the linkage between foreign assistance and the degree to which the state fulfills its obligations to protect human rights. And not a single word about what the states themselves should do for their development.

The denunciation of terrorism is placed next to an article indirectly acquitting it as a method of the struggle of peoples "experiencing colonial oppression, living under foreign rule, or occupation." The recognition of the right to self-determination as a "universal" right is found next to the statement that it is "applicable to peoples living under the yoke of colonial rule or foreign occupation." A number of articles express indirectly, and one directly, support "for the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people for the reestablishment of its national and inalienable right to stop the flagrant violations of human rights in the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories, including the Syrian Golan Heights and Jerusalem."

Given such a preoccupation with the fate of the Palestinian people, however, the declaration fails even to hint at its concern for the fate of the peoples of Tibet and East Timor, and violations by a lawfully elected president [narusheniya zakonno izbrannogo prezidenta]—a Nobel Peace Price winner—are passed over in silence. The declaration fails to even mention, to say nothing of denouncing, events on Tiananmen Square in Beijing in the summer of 1989 and the ensuing mass executions and arrests, and also other gross violations of human rights in Oceania and in Asia (including CIS countries).

The Bangkok declaration, if adopted by the Vienna conference, may turn out to be as disgraceful a document as the UN resolution equating Zionism and racism, which was revoked after the USSR left the international scene. It will undoubtedly spoil the emerging climate of understanding in the protection of human rights between UN member countries.

## Rights Activist Says Situation Now Worse

*PM1406084593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 3*

[Diplomatic observer Sergey Svistunov report under the rubric "Plenty To Talk About in Vienna": "The Ex-USSR Has Become Worse As Regards Human Rights, Ye. Bonner Believes"]

[Text] The Second UN World Conference on Human Rights opens 14 June in Vienna. The previous conference was held in Tehran in 1968. Does it need to be said how much the world has changed—including the concept of human rights and the attitude to them—in the past quarter-century?

On the eve of this forum a press conference was given in Moscow's UN Information Center on Lunacharskiy Street by Yelena Bonner, of no little fame, who has received a personal invitation from UN General Secretary Butros-Ghali to take part in the Vienna conference. We wish to make the highly curious remarks of A. Sakharov's widow known to readers, as far as possible refraining from commentaries.

"The status of the Vienna conference (it was presumed that virtually all heads of state would attend its opening; now it would appear that the level of foreign ministers has been determined,) and its goals have been somewhat eroded. I hope that this event will not prove yet another costly exercise in phrasemongering. As happened, for example, with the ecological conference in Rio de Janeiro.

"The conference program is wide. However, it does not reflect the need to elaborate a new concept of 'human rights.' Apparently the Cold War is over. However, human rights, including the most important ones—the right to life and the right to shelter—are being violated now as they have not been violated for some decades. Hence the low effectiveness, or completely ineffectiveness, of UN actions in defense of human rights. For instance, the Vance-Owen mission in Yugoslavia worked quite heroically, but the result of those actions is entirely doubtful. The same goes for operation 'Restore Hope' in Somalia, where the personnel of peace-keeping operation are being killed.

"Before Vienna preparatory regional conferences were held in Atlanta, San Jose, Tunis, and Bangkok. The Bangkok declaration condemns terrorism—and right away justifies it as a method of struggle for peoples 'experiencing colonial oppression or finding themselves under foreign dominion or occupation.' (Ye. Bonner is particularly indignant about several articles which obliquely—and one entirely—express support for 'the Palestinian people's legitimate struggle for the restoration of their national and inalienable right to self-determination and independence.' And how, incidentally, does she react to the material which we publish below [report under same rubric on "violations of the rights of Palestinians sanctioned by Israeli laws"]?—S.S) There is not even a hint of concern in the declaration over the fate of the peoples of Tibet, East Timor, or Burma (I will use the old name of the country, since the new one was invented by its present rulers), or the Central Asian republics of the CIS.

"More and more bloody conflicts are flaring up. In Tajikistan, Karabakh, and Ingushetia. Our CIS Army is incapable of fulfilling peace-keeping functions. So perhaps the United Nations should return to old colonial times and introduce protectorates of some sort in conflict regions (as the saying goes, 'they're already there'—S.S.)

"An incredible number of organizations engaged or claiming to be engaged in defending rights have sprung up in the CIS countries. Even I, who have been engaged in the defense of rights for 30 years, could not say even roughly how many of them there are nowadays in Moscow or Leningrad (if this is a slip of the tongue, it is Bonner's—S.S.). The center which used to house the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee now has more than 100 organizations of this kind ensconced in its premises. Some of them are registered as 'Western-local' joint ventures of some kind. That is, whereas it used to be volunteers who engaged in human rights activity for ideological reasons, today it is a colossal and not always disinterested stratum of the new bureaucracy.

**"At the same time, things have gotten not better, but worse in Russia and on the territory of the former USSR as regards human rights.** Many people have been made refugees, and blood has been shed. Nothing has been done to change the terrible system of corrective labor camps. Nothing has been done in the way of judicial reform. It would be a good thing if our press investigated specifically and in detail what each organization of this kind is really engaged in.

"Free entry to and egress from the country? In my opinion, it has become even harder to leave than before, when it was quicker and cheaper."

Asked by the PRAVDA correspondent whether human rights in Russia are threatened by the president's version of the Russian Federation Constitution, in which the figure of the head of state power is elevated beyond the scope of executive power per se and the entire triad of separate branches of power traditional in Western democracies, and is placed above them, Ye. Bonner replied as follows:

"In principle, I am for a presidential republic. But I hope that this truly dangerous formula will disappear from the final, agreed text. A more balanced approach is necessary. If the president is not entitled to dissolve parliament, parliament should not have the ability to remove the head of state either. All branches of power should possess the right to appeal directly to the people and call referenda.

"I have come to the conclusion that, in today's highly complex situation, it would be best not to adopt the country's Fundamental Law hastily, so that it needs radical reworking almost immediately, but to restrict ourselves to a temporary Constitution to run, say, for about two years... And only after holding new parliamentary and presidential elections should we take up this task more thoroughly."

## Vice Premier Shokhin Outlines Limits To Capacity for Aid

*PM1406151993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 3*

[Yuriy Kovalenko report under the "Events and Commentaries" rubric: "Moscow Adjusts Its Position in Respect of Financial Aid From the West"]

[Text] Paris—To all appearances, Russia itself is to undertake the coordination of aid being granted to it by various Western states and international finance institutions—this was one result of the Paris meeting of donor countries on questions of aid to Russia. Representatives from 14 countries and six international finance and economic organizations took part in this meeting, which took place under the chairmanship of World Bank Chairman W. Thalwitz.

At a press conference, Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin stated: "We were persuaded at the Paris meeting that Russia's priorities—from the viewpoint of Moscow and the West—coincide. These priorities are the power sector, agriculture, communications, and personnel training. The list is long, and resources are not all that plentiful. So we proposed to make more stringent demands on the projects being selected.

"Moscow," the vice premier noted, "would like political promises to be translated into the language of specific projects. A year ago we were promised a $24 billion package. However, a large proportion of this sum failed to get through, not just because we were not granted it but for other reasons too. For example, we are prepared to accept resources for the fund to stabilize the ruble only if there is a relative improvement in the country's financial situation and if order is imposed in the ruble zone."

French experts note that changes are under way in Moscow's stance with regard to financial aid from the West. What, then, is new in this stance? According to A. Shokhin, our idea is to use $1.5 billion from the aid package to finance the CIS states—to support their trade with Russia as Russia starts to trade with them at world prices. This would immediately give CIS countries the financial resources to maintain the trade balance with Russia.

"That aside," Russia's vice premier stressed, "Russia is in no position to accept massive financial aid, which is not in fact aid but regular commercial credit. If we take this entire package this year, we will be obliged in 1994 to pay out $3.5 billion in interest. We cannot afford that. So it is not ruled out that we will voluntarily reduce the volume of resources being drawn into Russia."

Another burning issue broached by the Russian vice premier is foreign investment. On the one hand, he noted, we have no legal restriction on foreigners' access to our investment market and privatization. On the other, there are a number of unresolved technical problems connected with introducing ruble accounts for "non-residents" and evaluating the property being privatized. If foreigners are granted access "on the usual terms" to property evaluated in 1987, the danger will arise of the purchase of that property in huge quantities for what is, to all intents and purposes, virtually nothing.

### Foreign Ministry Welcomes Results of Cambodian Elections

*LD1106135693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1303 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Boris Krivoshey]

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS— Russia fully respects free expression of will of the Cambodian people and fully recognizes its results, Head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Press and Information Department Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today, commenting on the official announcement of results of Cambodian general elections on Thursday in Phnom Penh.

"Real prerequisites have been created in Cambodia for the achievement of the main goal of the Paris process: the restoration of peace on the basis of national reconciliation and formation of new Cambodia—a sovereign, independent, neutral and territorially integral state, which respects human rights and maintains good- neighbourly relations with all countries of the world," said Sergey Yastrzhembskiy.

### Foreign Ministry Views Angolan Situation, Criticizes UNITA

*LD1106134993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1148 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Boris Krivoshey]

[Text] Moscow, 11 June—The development of events in Angola is causing growing concern in the world community. Hundreds of innocent citizens are becoming the victims of the terrorist actions of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, the director of the Department for Information and the Press of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry, stated this at a briefing today in connection with a meeting of representatives of Portugal, Russia, and the United States, who are observing the fulfillment of agreements on a peaceful settlement in Angola, which ended in Washington recently.

A communique on the results of the meeting, he said, notes that UNITA's military actions against the lawful government are leading to the destruction of the country's economic potential and to a deterioration in the population's situation and are casting great doubt on the sincerity of the UNITA leaders' statements regarding their devotion to a peaceful solution of the problem.

The Russian Foreign Ministry believes, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy stressed, that the UNITA leadership should ultimately listen to the opinion of the world community, stop the fratricidal war, and return to the negotiating table. "In this situation the Russian side is proceeding from active support for the lawful Government of Angola and will be assisting any steps aimed at stabilizing the situation in the country," the representative of the Russian foreign political department said.

### Japan Buys Russian Breeding Reactor

*LD1106203293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] ITAR-TASS reported today that Japan has bought from Russia the technical documentation for a breeding nuclear reactor capable of processing plutonium. The purchase, intended to solve Japan's nuclear waste problem, cost the Japanese $1 million [figure as heard].

### Japan Reportedly To Submit Privatization Aid Plan

*PM1106134593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jun 93 First Edition p 7*

[ITAR-TASS report: "Who Will Help Privatize Russia at Last?"]

[Text] Japan intends to submit a compromise proposal with regard to the plan put forward previously by the

United States for an international fund to be set up to promote privatization in Russia, which did not meet with support in the capitals of a number of West European countries and in Tokyo.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN reports, citing Japanese Government sources, that it is planned to submit the compromise version of the project to the G-7 countries this month so that when their leaders meet in Tokyo at the beginning of July a decision can be adopted on this issue. The United States suggested that a $4 billion international fund be set up to promote privatization in Russia.

### Shaposhnikov Meets With Romanian Ambassador to Russia

*LD1106200693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1800 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS—Commander-in-Chief of the Commonwealth Allied Armed Forces Air Force Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov met Romanian Ambassador to Russia Constantin Garbea here today to discuss topical aspects of provision of stability and security in Europe.

For instance, the sides noted the collective security system currently created in the Commonwealth does not run counter interests of other countries and poses threat to no one. It is aimed to ensure the safety of the Commonwealth and is objectively a factor of stability on the European continent and around the globe.

The officials stressed the importance of development of relations of Russia and other Commonwealth states with Romania on principles of equality, mutual benefit and goodneighborliness.

### Troop Withdrawal From Poland 'Somewhat Ahead' of Schedule

*PM1106140993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jun 93 p 3*

[Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Bugay report: "Polish Side Has No Complaints"]

[Text] Of the 60,000 Soviet Army servicemen who used to be in Poland, approximately 2,600 officers, ensigns, sergeants, and soldiers still remain in the Republic of Poland today, General Z. Ostrowski, the Polish Government's plenipotentiary with regard to affairs of the presence of the Russian Federation's troops in the Republic of Poland, declared.

In addition, there are 3,500 civilians attached to the Northern Group of Forces in Poland. According to Gen. Ostrowski, the Russian side is complying strictly with the schedule for its troops' withdrawal and is even somewhat ahead of it. The real estate transferred to the Polish side by the Northern Group of Forces is preliminarily estimated at $230 million.

### Bulgarian Army Chief Arrives on Official Visit

*LD1406145193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1334 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jun—Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of general staff of the Bulgarian Army, arrived in Moscow today on an official visit, the press center of the Russian Defense Ministry reports. A meeting has taken place with Colonel-General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of staff of the Russian Federation Armed Forces, and Andrey Kokoshin, first deputy defense minister of the Russian Federation. In the talks the sides discussed some directions of Russian-Bulgarian military-technical cooperation and also other issues of mutual interest.

### Russian-Bulgarian Commission Starts Trade Talks

*PM1106133993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 2*

[Aleksey Nikitushkin report: "Russian and Bulgaria—In Favor of Reestablishing Ties"]

[Text] The first plenary sitting of the Intergovernmental Commission for Trade, Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between Russia and Bulgaria has been held in Sofia.

Representatives of both sides noted the sharp drop in bilateral business relations in recent years. It was pointed out that, whereas in 1991 the volume of mutual trade was $2.3 billion, in 1992 it fell to $1.4 billion. Russia's share of Bulgarian foreign trade turnover fell from 47 percent in 1991 to 20 percent in 1992. As V. Karabashev, head of the Bulgarian part of the intergovernmental commission, noted, the difficult period in Russian-Bulgarian economic relations coincides with contemporary reality and the processes going on in Bulgaria and the Russian Federation, and also in international economic relations as a whole.

In fact this sitting is the first time in many decades that direct dialogue between Russia and Bulgaria has begun at this level, Vice Premier Boris Fedorov, head of the Russian part of the commission, noted.

### 1993 Trade Protocol With Slovakia Signed

*PM1106114593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 6*

[Unattributed report: "Trade Will Pick Up"]

[Text] First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov and Slovak Economy Minister Jaroslav Kubecka have signed a protocol "On Trade and Economic Relations in 1993." Part of the agreement is the approval of indicative commodity lists that will compulsorily apply to deliveries to Russia and Slovakia. They include not only oil, gas, chemical products, and machine building articles, but textile goods, medicines, food, and spare parts for previously purchased equipment as well.

The sides described the settlement of matters relating to transactions between enterprises in the two republics as the protocol's main achievement. As well as using freely convertible currency, henceforth it will be possible to use national currency to pay for contracts and also to practice trade in the form of barter deliveries.

In the Slovak minister's opinion, both countries' governments have succeeded in creating a powerful legal base to revive mutual trade. But it will never have the force of a directive, as it did in the days of CEMA. "Only by clearing the way for our enterprises, by giving them a stake in the exchange of products, can one hope to expand production volumes," J. Kubecka told a ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent.

Assessing the state of Russian-Slovak trade in 1992, Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations experts note the unwarranted increase in the structural imbalance. For example, Russia's exports last year amounted to $1.2 billion, while Slovakia sold us goods worth only $340 million.

The involvement of Slovak firms in the implementation of major projects to develop the Surgut oil and gas field, together with an increase in supplies of miniplants for processing agricultural products and light metal structures for the construction of housing, will help improve the structure of mutual trade, Russian specialists believe.

## Upcoming Bilateral Arab-Israeli Talks Have Good Prospects

*LD1106200093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1735 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS—The bilateral Arab-Israeli negotiations to resume on June 15 in Washington have favourable prospects, Russian representative to the negotiations and their cosponsor Viktor Gogitidze told ITAR-TASS here today.

The sides are now on more promising "grounds" to search for mutually acceptable compromises thanks to the results of the ninth negotiations round, which "laid down the basis for further negotiations process", a certain improvement of the situation on the occupied territories and active contacts of Russia and the United States with negotiations participants during the intersession period.

At the same time, Gogitidze noted a number of problems which affect the negotiations progress. These include the unsettled problem of Palestinians deported from Israel, a rather complicated situation on the occupied lands and others.

The Russian diplomat noted the upcoming talks are expected to coordinate a joint Israeli-Palestinian statement on settlement principles, discuss practical issues of the transitional period, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Golan Heights and a number of other complicated issues.

He said Russia, together with the United States, will do its best to contribute to the negotiations participants' search for mutually acceptable compromises.

"However, the decision will certainly be taken by the sides themselves, and the negotiations result will depend only on their goodwill and readiness for compromises", he stressed.

The official expressed the hope negotiations participants will show maximum wisdom, common sense and goodwill to bring comprehensive and just peace to the Middle East.

## Moscow Converts Most of Debt From Ruble Into Rupees

*BK1106162893 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Russia has agreed to convert most of India's debt from rubles into rupees. The Russian prime minister, Mr. Chernomyrdin, signed an order in Moscow today to reconvert Indian current debt to Russia from rubles into rupees. This clears the differences between the two countries over whether India could pay off debt in rupees.

## Political Issues

### Yeltsin Holds News Conference in Kremlin 12 Jun

#### Opening Remarks

*LD1206102593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Opening remarks by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin at a news conference with domestic and foreign correspondents at the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Good day, esteemed journalists, ladies and gentlemen. Russia is celebrating its Independence Day today, the day of the revival of the Russian state. I congratulate you on this holiday—one of the youngest holidays in Russia—from the bottom of my heart. You may applaud. [laughter, applause]

Sovereign Russia is three years old. This period is sufficiently long to be able to summarize certain things. Moreover, the period we have lived through was packed with events. As far as I am concerned, it has undoubtedly been the most tense and the most intense period of my life. I would like to share with you my thoughts on a number of issues.

Modern Russia is a country that attracts the attention of the whole world. Events that are taking place here are assessed in many different ways. Sometimes those assessments are contrary to each other. We are reproached for acting too radically and too abruptly. On the other hand, we are told that the reforms are going too slowly, that we are literally marking time, and that we have to act more daringly and more decisively. With all the diversity of assessments, however, one thing remains indisputable: the last three years proved to be the most significant with regard to practical transformations. Reforms have become more than just a subject for discussion. They are the reality of our lives. They are making headway and changing the present situation in Russia. They are the primary gain of our society.

Do you remember discussing a question about the actual possibility of reforms in Russia a couple of years ago? A feeling of pessimism prevailed. The best people could hope for was a serious change in a distant future. Life has brought about its own corrections. It was not easy to initiate transformations, but it turned out to be even more difficult to implement them.

There were many reasons for this. There were many attempts in the past to carry out reforms in Russia. During its long history, there were more failures than successes. Such is the particular feature of our country, that reforms cannot just proceed along the highway but must move along a narrow, perilous, mountain path, fraught with the danger of slipping and falling into an abyss of revolution or troubles. Therefore, it was and still is vitally important for us to maintain the peaceful, consistent pace of changes, to carry them out in the conditions of stability and not to allow any upheavals or disruptions. Remember, if the social passions heat up to the limit, the situation will get out of control. This will set off a chain reaction of the state and society's disintegration and chaos.

The particular features of the Russian reforms are also that our people and our society were isolated for far too long from the basic natural aspects of life and from universal human values. It would be much easier to do what we are trying to do now than 20 or 30 years ago. For too long, we could not part with an illusion that it was possible to change our life within the framework of the old system. Hence, there were those timid attempts to modernize the planned economy that were attempted a number of times. We had to abandon this myth only when we became convinced of its total failure.

There were several attempts to reform the CPSU—with the same result. How many times we tried to modernize the communist ideology, to give it a human face! You also know the results. Unfortunately, all this has taken too much time. The situation continued to deteriorate. This made the crisis even deeper and immeasurably increased the cost of the present reforms, the cost that now has to be borne by all of us, by the whole society.

Russia's inhabitants became convinced from their own bitter experience that the attempts to put a gloss on the previous system were a dead-end path. We vitally need transformations of a completely different character, depth, and scale. People became convinced of the fact that Russia had no future, no chance of revival within the framework of the old communist system. This conclusion is natural. It has become one of the major results of the last three years.

This understanding helped us to live through the hard initial stage of the economic reform without any social upheavals. Today quite a lot of criticism is being voiced against those who started the reform and those who are carrying it out. Yes, life has proved more difficult and more contradictory. But, we have made no mistakes about the main thing. The firmness of the original actions and decisions has been justified. Unusual, emergency measures were called for, and they provided results. I do not want to idealize our economic situation. It remains difficult and in crisis. But it has been possible to avoid the main thing: the economic catastrophe of a huge state. At the end of 1991, this was a real prospect.

Market laws—the ones that operated before 1917—are now coming into force again after a number of decades. In our situation, this is, in itself, a step forward. This is the primary indicator of the fact that Russia's economy is alive and is capable of overcoming its numerous diseases.

Yet, another thing is just as important for me. Russia's inhabitants feel more and more that the hardest stage of the crisis is coming to an end. This does not mean that we have left all our difficulties behind; however, the universal feeling of despair and of the inevitability of catastrophe is gradually disappearing.

Much is changing in our way of life. More and more people are now regaining their prospects and are feeling that they have the ability to occupy a more worthy place than in the former system. We all need to acquire new experience as quickly as possible and to learn how to use the new opportunities. Many people have already been able to find out that this is realistic, and I am sure that their numbers will grow.

Major changes have occurred in the state and political life of Russia in three years, and people are also evaluating them in different ways. Differing views can be heard. For the picture to be realistic, however, it is necessary to remember what the situation was like three years ago.

Russia's proclamation of its sovereignty was not an end in itself. Statehood was needed to resolve overdue sociopolitical and economic problems. It was needed to reform the unitary, rigid Union, and to turn it into a truly voluntary and equal federation of peoples that had an interest in uniting their strength in order to escape from the profound crisis that had gripped the country. It is not our fault—nor is it the fault of Russia—that unity was ruined in August 1991. We had to revive Russian statehood virtually from scratch. We were obliged to cultivate old state structures and old cadres, with all their faults and vices, so as not to lose the governability of the country in a very difficult crisis situation. It was necessary to choose the lesser of two evils, as the saying goes.

The process of creating new, essentially democratic, state and public institutions was going on simultaneously. First, I would mention freedom of the spoken and printed word, freedom of the press. Regrettably, few people do, I think, remember that it was three years ago, on 12 June, that the first law on the press was adopted in our country. In other words, today is a three-fold celebration.

In effect, it is the law on the freedom of the press—the Russian law on the mass media later grew out of it, which I would say is fuller and more technological—this was an important step in transforming Russian society. Thanks to that law, it was precisely the journalists—you more than anyone else—who moved the reforms forward. I thank you for that. Let me say directly that I put my hopes in you. Be honest and frank. Tell us when we make mistakes, and support us when it is difficult for all of us.

The most important thing is that you should cherish your freedom, which is three-years-old today. Do not give in to temptations in difficult times. Do not exchange it for economic advantage. And, all the more so, do not be ruled by short-term political considerations. Remember that the freedom of our society depends on the freedom of the press. This is no exaggeration.

The second institution that is marking its anniversary today, although a smaller one, is the election of the president of Russia by the whole people. During this time, power relations seem to have developed in two directions. From the very beginning, they have been marked by contradictions between the old party-soviet and new democratic statehood.

That is the main reason for the chronic delay in political reforms and for the conflicts in the top echelons of Russian power. The most complicated period in this respect was the end of 1992 and the first few months of 1993. It was precisely at this time that the standoff between the old and the new took on the real shape of confrontation between the executive and legislative power.

I think there will have to be major social and special research by scientists to understand how it could have happened that the corps of deputies, which gave a strong impulse to the reforms, allowed themselves to be turned into effectively the enemies of the reforms. The congresses were the culmination of this tough confrontation. It was only the referendum that brought about a turning point in this exhausting and fruitless struggle. It showed that the confrontation in the top echelons of authority did not reflect real moods in society.

Society has not been divided. We were again convinced that the citizens of Russia were not only opposed to the upheavals but were also actually capable of defending civil peace. This is also one of the main outcomes of the past three years. The referendum gave the full go-ahead to change the country's political landscape. Its results significantly changed previously-held views. The policy of reform—at its most difficult moment—was reaffirmed and now has powerful support from the people.

I particularly want to dwell on the implacable opposition. Opposition is an essential element of a democratic society; however, there is one essential condition: It must abide by the law. Our implacable opposition does the opposite; it sets its own standards of conduct and acts in an unlawful manner. The main reason for this is direct connivance by certain institutions of state power, including legislative bodies. All this creates the illusion that there is an opposition of people of strength and influence. On 25 April, however, this illusion was dispelled.

To me, it was extremely important that the referendum gave a powerful boost to the search for accord and political compromise. On 25 April, a real movement toward each other by various political forces began, with the exception of the implacable opposition. This trend is confirmed by the fact that it has become possible to begin coordinating interests in one of the most important of all issues—the drafting of a new constitution. This work is not being stepped up merely by chance. As never before, Russia now needs a stable legal foundation.

We need a new, internal, noncontradictory, stable document, designed for tomorrow, not for yesterday. The Constitutional Conference was created precisely to finalize such a draft. Taking part in it are representatives of virtually the whole of Russia's political forces and social strata. The important point of principle for me is that the Constitutional Conference has effectively demonstrated the extent to which political culture has grown in Russia. This work is close in its nature and its content to the way in which the parliament should work. That is what the Constitutional Conference has shown. Many of those taking part in the discussions and debates could make a real claim for a parliamentary mandate. I must admit that when I was in the groups—taking part in their work—I always felt a mixture of two feelings: gladness and annoyance. If only our Supreme Soviet worked as professionally and correctly, without political fights, we would have immeasurably better laws, and our reforms could work much more effectively.

On the whole, I can say that I have far more confidence today that the profound political transformations in Russia are real. Our people are capable of mastering the difficult science of democracy and are already mastering it.

A couple of words about the work on the constitution. The Constitutional Conference is working productively. It has the potential to complete work on the draft in the fairly near future. Of course, there are a number of questions on which work remains to be done. I will single out, for instance, the problem of equality of subjects of the Federation. Within the framework of the conference, however, there are reliable mechanisms that could help in the search for an acceptable resolution.

The conference will also not be able to bypass the issues of methods of adopting the Constitution and of new elections. These are burning topics that impose themselves, and artificially avoiding them would be foolish.

What decisions will be made? We will learn this at some time in the future. At present, two coordinating groups have been given the task of integrating all proposals that are coming in on these matters from the participants in the Conference. I think reasonable options will be proposed.

Sovereign Russia has lived through three difficult years, comparable in their intensity and significance to other decades. The Russian state exists. It has not only been recognized by the world community, it has become a partner for many states both from West and East. A long and difficult path still lies ahead of us if we are to regain possession of ourselves and become a fully civilized, democratic, and flourishing state. Today we are confident that this goal will be achieved.

Russia had a tragic fate in the 20th century. Our country was fated to refute one of mankind's deepest delusions: that one can achieve equality and happiness through violence. We paid a colossal price for this. All this is in the past, and for this reason I believe that the fate of Russia and of Russians—my fate and yours—will be realized. On this point, I would like to conclude my introductory speech. I am ready to answer your questions. Thank you! [applause]

## Yeltsin Answers Questions

*LD1206113093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[News conference held by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, introduced by Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov, with domestic and foreign correspondents at the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Kostikov] Boris Nikolayevich, thank you very much for your introductory speech. You took various problems at the news conference into your hands so decisively that I did not even manage to announce a bit about the procedure for our work. I would like to say, dear friends, that the character of today's news conference is—as outlined in Boris Nikolayevich's schedule—a meeting with journalists. Therefore we are counting on a genuine, confiding conversation without lengthy questions. I would ask you about one more thing since quite a lot of correspondents have come, do not ask chains of questions, one, a second, a third, but ask a single question so we can give as many journalists as possible the chance to participate in today's work. There is no specific theme today. The questions will be very varied judging by the written notes received. There are no questions or answers planned in advance. I hope that the conversation will be interesting and keen. I would ask Boris Nikolayevich to answer briefly, if possible, so that as many correspondents as possible can ask interesting questions.

[Yeltsin] It is my anniversary, and he is criticizing me. [laughter]

[Kostikov] I am not criticizing, I am simply getting things into a constructive mood. You are constantly putting us in a constructive mood, but I can say something. Boris Nikolayevich, our colleagues tell us that this is being broadcast live, so let us all smile. I want to begin today's news conference slightly unusually by giving the floor to—normally we begin with our official bodies, TASS, IZVESTIYA—but since we are going toward the market and commerce is taking on ever more importance, the first question is from the KOMMERSANT newspaper. Veronika Kutsilla is here. Where is she? Can she ask the question herself, or should I read out what she wrote?

[Yeltsin] Let her ask it.

[Kostikov] Veronika, ask your question.

[Kutsilla, KOMMERSANT correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, this is probably not a completely economic question, more sort of general. Over the last three years, out of all the events that have taken place, what was the most pleasant surprise for you personally? What was the least pleasant?

[Yeltsin] [grunts, long pause] The most pleasant surprise is that Russians, by historical standards and by the standards of other countries, have gotten a grip on what the market means fairly quickly; that was a surprise. Let us remember: all this began on 2 January last year [when many controlled prices were freed]... [long pause] and five months and a bit. Today we already have about 100,000 privatized and floated enterprises, we have about 300,000 private farms. People have got the taste—they are no longer afraid. This is a more than pleasant surprise. Or rather, that is the pleasant surprise, and the unpleasant one... [long pause] I promised to lay down on the rails at one of the rallies—a rally is a rally [laughter from hall], you cannot only lay down on the rails, but...

[Kostikov, interrupting] You can eat your hat, too, somebody once promised—Churchill, once...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] But he did not finish it. [laughter from hall] He was eating it for 90-something years, and he never finished it. I would lie down on the rails if there were no improvement by the end of 1992. Well, as you know, even the most eggheaded academics could not guess at what lay ahead for these unique reforms, this unique Russia. Of course, perhaps it was not circumspect to make a promise, bearing in mind that, as I said, this is too difficult a route along a mountain path.

This was unexpected: that there was no improvement in 1992, and we will just hope for stabilization in 1993.

[Kostikov] Boris Nikolayevich, I think that for the people of Russia it is a pleasant surprise that you have not lain down on the rails.

[Yeltsin] If I had there would not now be a third anniversary.

[Kostikov] Boris Nikolayevich, Arab journalists have been complaining that we rarely give them a chance to speak, so I call our friend from an Arab newspaper, Mr. Omar. He is, incidentally, the chairman of one of the journalists' associations here.

[Omar] Thank you. Boris Nikolayevich, I would like to congratulate you on this third anniversary, and ask my first question. What were the reasons for making Marshal Shaposhnikov secretary to the Security Council, and to what degree did you liaise regarding his release from the post of commander in chief of the [CIS] combined forces? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] The first thing is, you have to recognize that the united command so far does not carry much weight because gradually, each state is announcing that it is creating its own army. Secondly, even the nuclear weapons troops are moving out of the jurisdiction of Russia and the Russian Defense Ministry. These are the basic reasons for moving him to a fairly important post.

Now, about the secretary to the Security Council. Skokov, well, I will not talk about him, he has been released. But there should be a man in this job who is well-known, authoritative, and has a good knowledge of the forces structures.

This applies of course, first and foremost, to the Defense Ministry and all specifically military matters. Well, I will not hide the fact that he [Shaposhnikov] supports very actively and reliably the course of the president and the government. I have absolute confidence in him. He received this proposal of mine with satisfaction.

[Kostikov] Thank you, Boris Nikolayevich. Well, we have started with some brief brisk questions and answers. I think that Grishchenko also has a very brief question requiring a brief answer.

[Grishchenko] Thank you. Grishchenko, INTERFAX. Boris Nikolayevich, greetings once again on this festive day. I have a very brief question. It is said that you spoke for 30 minutes with President Kravchuk and agreed to a meeting with him. Will you tell us what problems you intend to discuss at this meeting? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] I think that one problem that we stressed during this long telephone conversation—the conversation moreover took place during the night—and probably he has other problems in mind too, is the supply of fuel and oil to Ukraine.

We cannot just give them away. How much longer can we do that? Russia itself is now going through hard times, and Ukrainian enterprises are completely failing to pay for oil supplies, so we were forced to turn off the tap. And immediately afterward, there was movement on the Black Sea Fleet and Sevastopol. But how do we resolve this, how do we move forward following our agreements in Yalta? Especially over the Sevastopol issue. He is ready for this. Initially we wanted to visit the ships and so forth, but it turns out that on the morning of the 18th [of June], I have to fly out to Yakutia and will not be available on the 17th, so I had another conversation with him yesterday, and we agreed that he will come to Moscow.

[Unidentified voice] When?

[Yeltsin] On the 17th.

[Unidentified voice] So you are not going to Odessa?

[Yeltsin] No. [more indistinct questions called out]

[Yeltsin] Then I have to fly off to Yakutia in the IL-62. Odessa and Sochi airports cannot take them, there is nowhere to land.

[Kostikov] So, Boris, the information that you issued turns out to be not quite correct.

[Grishchenko] On the other hand we have obtained new information on Yakutia. Thank you very much.

[Kostikov] A question from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Zaripov.

[Zaripov] Good day. I join with my colleagues in congratulating you. Boris Nikolayevich, many members of the Constitutional Conference are connecting the adoption of a new constitution with a new parliament. First, in your view, what prospects are there of a new parliament, and are you sure that a new parliament will not have a more rigid position than the current one which is divided among itself? If you please.

[Yeltsin] In my introductory speech today I said that I can envisage a parliament made up of the people in the Constitutional Conference. Strictly correct, a defender of political culture, even if he disagrees he says esteemed colleague, I cannot agree with you. [laughter from hall]. That is parliamentary language; not confrontation. [Kostikov tries to interrupt] I think new people will come along all the same; perhaps younger and fresher, who already know what the market is. This parliament was elected in 1989 under the soviet system in the Soviet Union.

You know how it was elected; to party lists, everything was prearranged. All the people had to do was drop in their voting slips, nothing more. What comes next? I hope that elections will be in October. Maybe a month earlier or later.

[Kostikov] Boris Nikolayevich, there is a lady in the back row who has been asking to speak for a long time. Go ahead, but please introduce yourself, because...[tails off]

[Unidentified correspondent] Czech Television. Boris Nikolayevich, when you were elected president, the SOBESEDNIK magazine printed an article by President Havel called "The 11 Temptations of Power." The opposition to you suspects that you are not a democrat. How can one be the guarantor in Russia of the development of democracy in the face of these 11 temptations of power? Thank you.

[Kostikov, summarizes question] The opposition accuses you of not being a democrat. How can you resist the temptation of dictatorship when you have so much power?

[Yeltsin] I have a goal for myself: to do everything in my power possible to see that Russia advances along the road of democratization and a civilized society and that it embarks on a market-orientated path of development and into the world and European community. That is what I desire.

Of course, I was sorely tempted, personally, let us say, at the Ninth Congress, to sign a decree, in general, as it were, abolishing the congress, the Supreme Soviet, and soviets from the grass roots upward. There was this temptation, and I spent one night without sleep, as it were. But then that would no longer be democracy.

[Kostikov] Thank you, Boris Nikolayevich.

[Yeltsin] We are very friendly with Havel, President Havel, and we have met more than once on a one-to-one basis. Now he is asking—when I visit Poland, although the date has not been fixed yet—that I fly to the Czech Republic at least for a few hours so as to once more speak face-to-face. I agree.

[Kostikov] A question from the Russian Federation telegraph agency, ITAR-TASS, Talalayev. After all, we cannot live without an official organ.

[Talalayev] It is surprising, but a fact that in recent days the rate of the ruble against the dollar has improved probably for the first time since the beginning of our reforms. Is it the first swallow? A single swallow does not make a spring, as they say. Nevertheless how do you view the prospects for stabilization and ways to achieve it?

[Yeltsin] I have already said that stabilization in the economy, including the ruble rate, will take place in 1993, but very gradually. There should not be any euphoria from this event yet.

[Kostikov] Have you answered, Boris Nikolayevich?

[Yeltsin] I have answered.

[Kostikov] So very briefly, like we agreed. St. Petersburg Radio, if I am not mistaken, it is Sidorova, right?

[Sidorova] St. Petersburg Radio, Sidorova. Boris Nikolayevich, first of all I also want to congratulate you on behalf of our city.

[Yeltsin] Thank you.

[Sidorova] Maybe you remember about a year ago, in this hall, I asked you a question about the new constitution and a constituent assembly. Well, now it can be said that the draft constitution is almost ready, and the question arises of how to adopt it. At the 25 April referendum, our city, in a local referendum, voted in favor of a constituent assembly, but there are three versions: the Congress, a referendum...

[Yeltsin, interrupts] Four.

[Sidorova] Four, so there is a fourth as well. Tell us please, which of these four ways of adopting the new constitution has the best chance, from your point of view.

[Yeltsin] I am in favor of the fifth variant. [laughter] But as to what it will be, this will be determined during the work of the Constitutional Conference. I, at least, do have a variant; I shall propose it. But I do not think that I need to spell it out today. Evidently, this will put a certain amount of pressure on the Constitutional Conference and I want to conduct the Constitutional Conference absolutely correctly so that it will engage in a really professional debate. A special intersectional group has now been set up to discuss methods of adopting the constitution. It will discuss all four and also the fifth that I shall propose and perhaps some others.

[Kostikov] Boris Nikolayevich, there are many political questions. However, during the spring and summer people dig the earth, plant potatoes. I have heard that you have also planted potatoes.

[Yeltsin] Well, in the first place, I am no longer planting potatoes, I have already planted them. [laughter]

[Kostikov] You have already planted them.

[Yeltsin] Yes, you are behind the times. It seems that you do not grow any yourself.

[Kostikov] I grow radishes, Boris Nikolayevich. [laughter] Boris Nikolayevich, I have a question in connection with this...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] Evidently this depends on size, some people grow potatoes, some grow radishes. [laughter]

[Kostikov] Is this an invitation for me to resign, Boris Nikolayevich? [Kostikov laughs]

[Yeltsin] Of course not. I have been growing potatoes for myself and my family, with my family, for 35 years in a row. I planted some this year, too, six buckets of potatoes and the shoots are already coming through because in the central zone potatoes are planted on 9 May. [Yeltsin indicates with thumb and forefinger that the shoots are about an inch high]

[Kostikov] Boris Nikolayevich, you have not managed to divert me from my question even though your shoots are like this [indicates with thumb and forefinger a size of about an inch] and my neighbor's are like this [uses two hands to indicate a size of about a foot]. Here is the question from the newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN connected with the land. [laugher] Where is the correspondent of SELSKAYA ZHIZN who wrote the note? Pass him the microphone, please.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, the new constitution has a provision on the purchase and sale of land. I have recently met agricultural workers and they believe that if this provision is passed, the Russian peasantry will end up without land altogether. What is your view on the subject?

[Yeltsin] How can anyone end up without land, considering the vastness of Russia's territory? Neither Germany nor Austria, not even Luxembourg, have any such fears. So, why should Russia be afraid of this? There is no reason whatever for Russia to be afraid of it. I am absolutely convinced the constitution must have this provision. This is similar to the way soviets cannot accept the fact that the constitution has no provision on soviets. They do not accept the president's draft, as they call it, although I do not think that it should be named after any particular person or the post he holds. But it has now become customary for it to be called the presidential draft since it was tabled by the president. Well, indeed it does not mention the soviets, and that is the reason why they are against this draft. I am fed up with these soviets. Although what is at issue now is the future of the representative power; the representative power must exist of course. Its duty should be to create norms in oblasts, krays, and republics. As to land, there will be enough of it for peasants, farms, and collective farms. So there is no reason for anyone to be afraid of selling or buying it. We have the world experience to rely on.

[Kostikov] Our colleagues from radio want to speak. Go ahead. Yes you, Mr. Semenov, you.

[Semenov] Boris Nikolayevich, thank you for the kind words you said about correspondents, my question is this. I have come here from Ostankino, that is now surrounded by the militia and there are worries that the pickets might break through. You are aware of how the parliament leans on the media, how officials interfere and sometimes persecute journalists. At the Congress of Russian Journalists, this was spoken of with great sorrow. What opportunities do you have to fulfill the role that you have spoken of many times, that is, guarantor of a free press? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] The Supreme Soviet adopted these how are they called, Supervision Councils or something like that? [calls them not nablyudatelnyye but nadziratelnyye sovety, from nadziratel, a supervisor in a prison; laughter] The question is, when to supervise and when to examine correspondents output? Before or after publication? This is where the fundamental difference lies. Before publication equates to censorship, that is prohibited by law. After publication, go ahead, take a look and judge it. I would prefer to call them councils of trustees, that exist in many countries; I shall be trying to achieve this.

[Kostikov] Our colleague from German radio, so as not to create too much competition between radio stations.

[Unidentified correspondent] DIE ZEIT.

[Kostikov] Oh, I am sorry.

[Correspondent] It is okay. Boris Nikolayevich, once again congratulations on your third anniversary. You have recently been calling strongly for consultative cooperation and compromises, even with the Supreme Soviet. However, do you not fear that your opponents are deliberately dragging it out? I mean, in the expectation that the economic situation will get worse? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] A very brief answer. There are fears; there is no worsening of the economic situation, and there will not be.

[Kostikov] Here is a question from ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, but it also concerns the actions around Ostankino, so I think that our colleague has already received an answer. But here is a somewhat unusual question that concerns our Russian history, and how our president regards it. I will simply read out the note, that is probably the simplest way: Boris Nikolayevich, you have said several times that of all the historical figures in the past, Peter the Great, Peter the First, is closest of all to you. Could you briefly say which of Peter's characteristics are close to you, and what you think should be rejected in policy, taking into account the new reality?

[Yeltsin] Close to me is the fact that Peter the First was a reformer; close to me is the fact that he was not afraid of learning from other states; close to me is the fact that he was a decisive man. What I do not take from him is the fairly disdainful attitude toward his own people, and there was even violence. This violence, of course, cannot be taken. We also need to avoid it, especially in Russia that has 20 republics inside it. For the time being they are living normally, and I think that by signing the Federation Treaty, and having adopted the constitution, we will avoid these jagged reefs. Of course, I am reproached by some for once saying, take as much sovereignty as you can.

But there is a very deep meaning to these words: you can. How much can you do? Do not take on more than you can handle. Or you will end up in trouble, as Chechnya has; Chechnya bit off more than it could chew. So I say to the others: take as much as you can handle, and the remaining functions we will divide up among the federal authorities and the republics as per the treaty.

[Kostikov] Boris Nikolayevich.

[Yeltsin] I think I have answered two questions instead of just the one.

[Kostikov] Three even, I think. Boris Nikolayevich, you know and, I think, love Vyacheslav Terekhov, who will not give up and will drag the news conference out until he gets his question in. Maybe we had better let him do it now?

[Yeltsin] Agreed, he is a very energetic fellow.

[Terekhov] Thank you. Boris Nikolayevich, incidentally, I do not think that the presidential elections are a weaker method, from the historical standpoint. You are the first legally and constitutionally elected leader of Russia. This has nothing to do with you as an individual, but historically it is an extremely significant fact. My question is this: There is now a trend toward amalgamation. Parties and various public organizations are amalgamating and merging. You have several times mentioned the possibility of a presidential party. Do you not think that this idea has become relevant again in recent times, since it will be politically impossible or extremely difficult to contest elections to parliament not having a presidential party?

[Yeltsin] You can be sure that very important work is being carried out in that direction. It is simply not being publicized. I would say that the presidential party is primarily a basis at present, a bloc for new elections. Later, it will grow into a party. Purposeful work is being carried out; there are people, leaders, individuals who are engaged only in that.

[Kostikov] Boris Nikolayevich, we have [someone interrupts, several voices heard simultaneously, off microphone] ...but only after I lay down on the rail track myself. [laughter] Boris Nikolayevich, there are several questions with regard to G7. Maybe, they should be grouped together into one question and I then put it on behalf of the whole group of correspondents. What do you expect from your visit to Tokyo?

[Yeltsin] I have been invited. It will be on 8-9 July, and Clinton has also asked me to organize a one-to-one early breakfast before 10 July, so that we can have a talk, so to speak, about our bilateral relations and then about how what was promised in Vancouver is materializing.

The main goal that I am setting for this meeting with the G7 is to put an end to discrimination against Russia. How much longer can you regard Russia as a communist country? Accordingly, all the laws that are linked to this regime are applied to Russia. But Clinton has already spoken to Congress and suggested that several dozen of laws and amendments in regards to Russia should be revoked. Other countries are doing the same. This will be one of the most important questions.

Well, there is a package of various funds—Stabilization Fund, Privatization Fund—that they want to set up jointly. I can only welcome this, of course. This will help our economy.

These are perhaps the main issues. There is of course a certain amount of discomfort, in that there is bound to be a meeting with Mr. Miyazawa, and the issue of the Kuril Islands is bound to crop up again. I will not able to tell him anything new.

[Kostikov] Thank you, Boris Nikolayevich. Boris Nikolayevich, there is a large group of people around microphone Number One. It is just like the parliament. But what can one do? Microphone Number One, please. Please introduce yourself.

[Unidentified correspondent] Yes, of course. The MILLIYET newspaper, Turkey. Boris Nikolayevich. We know that you are planning a visit to Greece at the end of this month. What problems, alongside bilateral ones, do you intend to discuss there? Are you not planning a visit to Turkey? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] Well, in the first place I have been to Turkey, although not on an official visit, but to discuss business matters. I have not been to Greece at all, although I have had an invitation for two years; it is high time. We need to sign a wide-ranging treaty between Greece and Russia. That is the main thing that is intended. As well as a whole package of agreements that have also been prepared for signing with Greece. Of course, I shall not have time to admire the sights there. I shall be there for only a day and half.

[Kostikov] Please give the microphone to our esteemed guest who is standing next to microphone Number One. Please introduce yourself.

[Correspondent] [name indistinct], I am the editor in chief of the all-Russian Muslim newspaper AKHMADI. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, there are 1 million Muslims living in Moscow. Do you think it is possible to build five mosques in Moscow? At present there are two mosques. There are several hundred ruined mosques in Russia and state funds are needed to restore them. This would be a wonderful gift to mark the present anniversary. Thank you.

[Yeltsin] Well, first I am in favor of restoring all religious churches, temples, mosques, synagogues, and so on. But it is not so easy to do that at the expense of state funds, for the time being. But I think that in the program we have for the restoration of temples, mosques, and so on, and other religious buildings and structures, this program envisages their restoration, and that includes in Moscow. As for what you asked me for, the first thing is that I kept my word, and you received a mosque, but in the future—for the time being, I think during 1993 and 1994 at least—it is unlikely that we will be able to allocate money from state funds. We will definitely do so from 1995 onward.

[Kostikov] Colleagues, our news conference is running out of time. There remains a last question, and I would like to grant that question to a correspondent from PRIZYV, in the town of Vladimir, because the way Boris Nikolayevich answers this question will partly determine whether or not journalists will be having a festive tipple today. [general laughter]

[Unidentified correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, I represent the provinces, that are of course the foundation of Russia. I would like to ask you which of the politicians of the new generation you would like to see as your successor.

[Yeltsin] That is serious.

[Kostikov] Boris Nikolayevich, I will add a little to the question, because originally the question was formulated differently. Recently you said, Boris Nikolayevich: Today there is no alternative to Yeltsin. Have you changed your opinion since then?

[Yeltsin] I mean only that during this period there is no alternative to the president, the period for which I have been elected, until spring 1996. In spring 1996, elections for a president, a new president, are to take place. During that time, we have to allow him to emerge.

There are at least 10 people to choose from. We have enough intelligent people here in Russia, especially those brought up in the present times, on the wave of the market, in the new political climate, on democratic principles. Of course, there will be no place for any extremists and people will not elect them. Our people are like this: they want the president to be of my height, [laughter] and other qualities...

[Kostikov, interrupting] The one who can take risks when necessary.

[Yeltsin] Do I have to give their names?

[Kostikov] No, not yet, Boris Nikolayevich. You had better not.

[Yeltsin] No, you understand, it might even make these people somehow... [pauses] I follow their progress closely and personally support them; I watch their personal growth. Of course, there will be such a person, or a group of persons, whom the Russian people would support. Not those loudmouths who are shouting today that they are already presidents. No, of course not. These will be new, interesting people.

[Kostikov] Thank you, Boris Nikolayevich. Dear colleagues and friends, at this point allow me to end our meeting. My old correspondent friends who are thirsty today can come to the press secretary. [laughter]

[Yeltsin] Thank you, goodbye and a happy holiday, once again. [applause]

### Shakhray Cited on Independence Day, Transition Period

*PM1106172593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jun 93 p 1*

[Unattributed, boxed feature: "It Is Good To Be Young. To Be Independent.... Russia Has a Holiday. But Does It Have Independence?"]

[Excerpt] Sergey Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers:

"At the present time one state is being replaced with another, a very complex process. We are direct participants in what is happening, therefore there is a lot we do not see and feel. But consistent legal succession has been guaranteed—peacefully, thank God. The uniqueness of our transitional period lies in the fact that three processes are going on simultaneously—the RSFSR is being replaced by the Russian Federation, the republic of soviets is being replaced by a presidential democratic republic (at the moment this change is at the dyarchy stage), and finally, the unitary system is being replaced by a federal one. Therefore the issue of a new Russian Federation Constitution does not just acquire a legal political significance—it is an issue that concerns the structure of modern Russia. Right now three cornerstones will save Russian statehood—economic reform, federalism, and wide-ranging local self-government." [passage omitted]

### Yeltsin Publishes Environment Day Appeal

*PM1106112193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 11 Jun 93 p 3*

["Appeal of the Russian Federation President in Connection With World Environmental Protection Day"]

[Text] For Russia this event is filled with special meaning. The ecological situation in our country remains strained. The wounds of the Chernobyl catastrophe are not healing. The health of people living in ecologically unfavorable areas is deteriorating. The number of industrial accidents and disasters remains high. In the majority of regions the quality of water is deteriorating.

For many years the real condition of the environment in Russia was surrounded by a shroud of secrecy. The most important state task today is to disclose all the secrets of this field, to give a full and precise assessment of the ecological situation in our country. This difficult work is now being performed by specialists. In October last year work was completed on white papers on the state of the population's health and the state of the environment in Russia. This year on my instructions a white paper was prepared on the burial of radioactive waste in the seas washing our country. In the future, too, an open and honest analysis of Russian ecological problems will be continued actively. This is an essential condition for their successful solution.

In the past two years certain advances have occurred in the field of the conservation of Russia's environment. As a whole air pollution with industrial waste has declined throughout the country. Since August 1991 some 17 new reserves and national parks have been created. A number of laws have been adopted on environmental conservation, the rational use of natural resources, and the population's sanitary and epidemiological welfare. Russia has been the initiator of a moratorium on nuclear tests, which the United States and France then joined. We are prepared to extend our moratorium if the United States does not resume its tests.

But nonetheless the dimensions of our ecological problems make us admit that so far very little has been done.

Russia's ecological rebirth is directly linked to our society's advance along the path of economic and political reforms. A healthy, precisely functioning economy and a stable political system are essential conditions for normalizing not only social relations but also relations between man and nature. The time has come to put into operation new economic levers for environmental conservation and the rational, careful use of all natural resources, including payment for the use of natural resources and full compensation for damage caused by pollution of the environment to society and citizens.

The transformations in the country have one more significant aspect. Recent international political agreements have made it possible to embark on the solution of the arms reduction problem, of paramount importance to all mankind. The race in the production of means of destruction has been ended. It is important now to organize and carry out the ecologically safe destruction of chemical and nuclear arms in accordance with Russia's international commitments.

I believe that work to restore Russian nature can and must unite all society's political forces. Russia is open to cooperation in the field of environmental conservation with all states and ecological movements. Whoever is in power our nuclear power stations must become safe, our rivers clean, and our cities green. The right to breathe clean air and drink clean water and state guarantees of ecological safety must be enshrined in the new Constitution.

I appeal to you, esteemed Russians, on Environmental Conservation Day, and urge each person to make what contribution he can to improve the health of nature in his village or city and throughout Russia. There are no trivia in this great and important matter and we shall work together.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin.

[Dated] 3 June 1993, Moscow, Kremlin

## Yeltsin Appoints Representative for Treaty Discussion

*LD1106113693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] ITAR-TASS reports that Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed an instruction appointing First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin as the president's official representative during the Russian Supreme Soviet's discussion of the question of the ratification of the collective security treaty.

## Deputy Premier Shumeyko Holds News Conference 11 Jun

### Sees Former Republics as Foreign States

*LD1106140093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy prime minister of the Russian Government, held a news conference today.

He declared that Russia needs to build its relations with the former republics of the USSR as though they were foreign states, since the more it makes concessions in the search for the former economic space, the worse it often becomes for Russia itself.

He said the process of the former republics of the USSR introducing their own currencies cannot be stopped.

However, Shumeyko thinks that there is scope for integration. A single economic space has to be created on the level of entrepreneurs and commodity producers.

### Concerned Over Future Parliament

*LD1106164993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1359 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyampolskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS—Observers believe that the composition of the future parliament will be "worse than the present one from the point of view of reforms" and a single coalition of reformist-minded forces is being created to support reforms at future elections, according to First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko.

He told reportere on Friday [11 June] that political parties in Russia have no considerable influence on the public opinion and a coalition of reform supporters is necessary "to manage the process (of elections)".

"We are very much concerned over who is elected to the parliament, especially to the lower chamber", Shumeyko said, adding that the bloc of democratic forces is to be strong enough and influential.

### Internal Affairs: Corruption Law 'Blocked' at Top

*MK1106103093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 24, 11 Jun 93 (signed to press 10 Jun) p 2*

[INTERFAX report: "Law on Corruption Blocked in Top Power Echelons?"]

[Text] Corruption among state officials in Moscow has reached such proportions that internal affairs bodies are obliged to follow a special program to combat this crime, stated Viktor Kiryushin, deputy chief of the Internal Affairs Main Administration's regional administration in charge of combating organized crime. The passage of a law on corruption and civil service is being blocked in the top power echelons, he indicated. The crimes most typical for Moscow are machinations in the field of privatization of housing and finance and credit operations. The simplified housing privatization rules have given rise to a whole illicit business. For example, citizens from other towns are being sold apartments of Muscovites who have long been dead. Bodies of people whose apartments became privatized by strangers are being found.

### Journalist Evaluates Yeltsin's Two Years in Power

*MK1106120093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jun 93 p 1*

[Vitaliy Tretyakov article: "President Yeltsin: Two Years in Power. An Asset or Liability for Russia?"]

[Text] Tomorrow is the second anniversary of Boris Yeltsin's election as president of the Russian Federation.

For three months now, trying to carry out faithfully the duties of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's editor, I have been looking for an article whose author would show in a substantiated way the sum of the positive results of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's policy. So far I have not found such an article for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, while in those that are published by the official and semi-official pro-presidential press, pretentious declarations far exceed their persuasiveness.

Meanwhile it cannot but be admitted that Russia "under Yeltsin" is inexorably moving forward along the path of economic reform and democratization, and the question essentially is this: Is this happening thanks to the president's policy or contrary to it?

I have written repeatedly about its weaknesses, shortcomings, and outright failures and obvious mistakes, sometimes very dangerous ones. On the eve of his second anniversary in office it would be useful to draw up a list of Yeltsin's political achievements.

The first such accomplishment is undoubtedly the preservation of the bloodless character of reforms in the country. There are basically only two exceptions. The 1 May incident in Moscow, at least half the responsibility for which lies with the authorities; and the events in a number of North Caucasian republics, the blame for which also substantially falls on Moscow and the president with his team. Yet hardly anybody could have resolved this most complicated ethno-political problem in an ideal way at the very start of the present Russian statehood's evolution. Countrywide, both instances are surely exceptions rather than a rule.

The second achievement is the president's foreign policy, especially with respect to the classical, distant foreign countries. Inheriting in this field the Gorbachev-Shevardnadze foreign policy line but with a far more complicated geopolitical setup, and perfecting itself with every passing month, the Yeltsin-Kozyrev foreign policy course has already almost achieved the requisite combination of flexibility and toughness.

Recently the president's policy toward the countries of the former USSR and their problems has also become more well-considered, comprehensible, and clear-cut.

Here it is important to note the post-imperial pragmatism of the Yeltsin-Kozyrev foreign policy that replaced the radical super-democracy of the first months, which almost pushed to the background both Russia's national interests and its world responsibility as a nuclear and military superpower—which, by the will of history, remains the center of a huge region where new independent states are emerging as if out of nothing.

The next achievement is a more or less stable, at least fairly well controlled (although not ideally so) transformation of the USSR Armed Forces into Russia's Armed Forces.

Among the incontestable achievements one should naturally mention the beginning of a radical economic reform—the first step toward the market undertaken by Yegor Gaydar.

One of the fundamental aspects of this reform is the "introduction" of private ownership, the destatization of the economy via Anatoliy Chubays' purposeful activity.

Another aspect is the preservation (as least as a goal) of a tough budget policy, which is continuing to be pursued by Boris Fedorov, who replaced Gaydar in this sphere of activity.

The next achievement is the renunciation (for the time being?) of tough authoritarian methods in running the economy and the country as a whole. People from Boris Yeltsin's immediate entourage state that this is his personal accomplishment. It is hard to verify whether this is really so, but it is known for sure that the pressure brought to bear on him to implement this scenario is very strong.

This is basically all. Not so little, but not so much either, given the number of mistakes made and the problems unresolved or even unaddressed.

The achievements of the president's policy as a rule are connected with the preservation in the government of figures "safeguarding" a particular line of reform (Kozyrev, Grachev, Chubays, Shokhin, B. Fedorov). True, as far as I am concerned, it is not clear to me whether this is a conscious strategy of reforming Russia or whether it is based on purely pragmatic apparatus-type calculations, when the boss, for the sake of preserving his personal power, does not allow any of the rival groups within his entourage to strengthen itself too much.

"Between democracy and the market we choose the market"—these words came out some time ago in a narrow circle from the mouth of the most influential figure in Russia's present-day politics. If Yeltsin also adheres to this slogan, then reform in Russia in proceeding contrary to his will; if not, then largely owing to him. On the empirical level there is evidence in favor of both. Therefore the question remains open.

## Further on 11 Jun Presidium Session

*PM1106145793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 2*

[Report by Vasiliy Kononenko: "The Russian Federation Government Intends to Cut Budget Expenditure, But It Is Adopting New Programs"]

[Text] A Russian Federation government session was held on 10 June with V. Chernomyrdin in the chair.

It began with an unexpected announcement by the prime minister:

"We have again examined the draft budget for 1993 and analyzed the financial situation in the country. It is suggested that a government directive be adopted to the effect that all ministries and departments have a week to analyze the expenditure and income sections of their budgets, and, most important, cut expenditure by at least 20 percent or increase the income section by 20 percent on condition that the budget remains at its present size."

In other words, the government has reacted pretty quickly to the president's appeal to fight inflation, which is doing a great deal to increase the budget deficit.

Then a decision was adopted without debate on the formation of a Council of Ministers commission on current issues. Its members are vice premiers O. Soskovets, B. Fedorov, A. Chubays, A. Shokhin, and Yu. Yarov. Its task is to tackle current management issues without waiting for the next Council of Ministers Presidium session.

There was practically no discussion of the second item on urgent measures to safeguard transport operations in 1993. V. Chernomyrdin strongly criticized the proposed draft program for the development of the transport system, stressing that the document is merely a series of requests—give us rubles, give us hard currency. The program has been returned to the commission to be given its final shape.

Then the government examined the draft federal machine-building program for the Russian agroindustrial complex. Presenting it, Agriculture Minister V. Khlystun noted that Russian agriculture and processing enterprises are no better equipped now than they were in the mid-seventies. Many enterprises are ceasing to produce agricultural equipment. At the same time, more than 50 percent of working people in plant growing and livestock raising are forced to do inefficient manual labor.

The machine-building program for the agroindustrial complex is a five-year one and provides for the assimilation of more than 3,000 new items of machinery and equipment and modernization of practically all agricultural equipment. If it is implemented, V. Khlystun stressed, it will increase labor productivity by 80 percent and the volume of agricultural production by 20-40 percent. This will cost a great deal of money, of course.

Difficult though the financial situation may be, the government still adopted the program.

## Gorbachev Criticizes Yeltsin Constitutional Program

*LD1106172893 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in Swedish 1445 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Report on interview with Mikhail Gorbachev by correspondent Sten Sjoestroem in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] The Ekot program starts in Moscow where President Yeltsin's Constitutional Conference is continuing; but now the former Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, is also participating in the dispute. In an interview with our Moscow correspondent, Gorbachev says today that Yeltsin's proposals for constitution are threatening to lead to dictatorship in Russia.

[Begin Gorbachev recording in Russian, fading into correspondent's superimposed report] What Yeltsin proposes is a clear authoritarian order, he does not believe in democracy, he does not believe in the nation but wants to steer everything from Moscow. This is said by Mikhail Gorbachev in a bitter attack on Boris Yeltsin and his proposal for a constitution which, among other things, includes strong presidential powers and a total break with the Soviet era. Gorbachev says that the time for this type of centralized form of governing is gone, and he does not believe that Yeltsin can get his constitution proposal through.

Since his dismissal, Gorbachev has become an ever harsher critic toward Yeltsin and his reforms, and has clearly joined the alliance of centrist forces in Russian politics which are lead by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. Gorbachev says that Rutskoy is more realistic than Yeltsin, but he is still not wholeheartedly behind the vice president who has lately approached purely nationalistic circles.

No new constitution is needed now, Gorbachev says in reaction to Yeltsin's attempt to force through a new constitution. It would only be a mishmash of ideas which do nothing to stabilize society. Instead of that, according to Gorbachev, a temporary law is needed providing for power-sharing in society and new elections to a new parliament which can then create a new constitution. This is a line which has been promoted by the center alliance, the so-called citizens' union on Yeltsin's congress on the constitution. Some of the president's supporters support such a stance and Yeltsin himself has given partial approval, but only as an emergency solution, if the congress does not agree on a totally new constitution.

All work on the constitution and, before that, on the referendum, were just an attempt by Yeltsin to hide the fact that he does not have any policy, Gorbachev says. Yeltsin's reform has got stuck, Gorbachev says, adding that he is prepared to throw himself into politics again if the nation demands it. [end recording]

### Rutskoy Forming New Centrist Bloc

*LD1106131893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1108 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy is currently busy setting up "a bloc of coalition forces, taking up a centrist position," he said at a news conference organized by the Association of Foreign Correspondents in the Central House of Journalists today. In the words of Aleksandr Rutskoy, this bloc will be formed by mid-June, and an "agreement on cooperation" has already been signed by 36 sociopolitical movements and parties. While saying that there will be no parties of communist tendency in this bloc, he did not give the specific name of any party entering the bloc. The vice president repeated his accusations against the executive power, and complained about the press. He believes he is criticized because he is "developing the struggle with the state Mafia structure." He said publications which criticize him are "to special order." This caused a DAILY TELEGRAPH correspondent to ask: "So we foreign correspondents are also under Yeltsin's thumb, or do we not understand the situation in your country?"

### Communists Want Early Elections, Back Present Constitution

*MK1106093693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 24, 11 Jun 93 (signed to press 10 Jun) p 2*

[Yuliya Salnikova report under the "Right Cause" rubric: "CPSU Too Hopes for Early Elections, But for the Moment Thinks Current Constitution Optimal"]

[Text] "The struggle for a constitution is totally senseless, and its only benefit is that both power branches will break their necks in the struggle," according to Sergey Skvortsov, a leader of the CPSU, who was addressing a press conference called by the party. The communists think that whichever constitution gets adopted today, it would in any event not work, since there is no force capable of "pushing it through into life." They see resignation as the only exit from the blind alley into which Yeltsin and the deputies have driven themselves. The CPSU is going to press for early general elections thinking that such elections would seriously alter the balance of forces in the country and create new possibilities for communists' activities. As follows from a resolution passed by the party's third plenum the other day, "The falling through of the president's policy is becoming increasingly obvious," while in the power structures today a clear ousting of "the pro-Gaydar comprador bourgeoisie by members of the country's influential nomenklatura" is under way. However, despite the fact that, like the Russian Federation president, the communists seek early elections, CPSU chiefs advocate the current constitution (because they think both Yeltsin's and Rumyantsev's drafts are "antipopular"), and if there is a referendum, the CPSU will support the draft prepared by the Communists of Russia faction.

In the words of party leaders, heads of all existing left-wing organizations in Russia are not ready yet for a merger with the other parties, thus the creation of a united Russian Communist Party is unlikely in the near future. Nevertheless, the renewed CPSU regards the other communist parties as "fraternal and friendly" and renews its readiness for cooperation with all opposition forces in the struggle for the people's interests. The people, the communists think, "do not see at the moment any real alternative to the Yeltsin regime," something that largely helps the regime cling to power in conditions of general dissatisfaction with the worsening standards of living.

### Claims of Emergence of Centrist Force Viewed

*PM1106135393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 11 Jun 93 p 2*

[Article by Andrey Kolesnikov: "'Pink' Center; Have Centrist Forces Really Appeared in Russia?"]

[Text] Since the referendum in Russia the political center has disappeared. At any rate that has become obvious to all, although before there were doubts as to whether it existed and as to whether the Civic Union was not a fleshless phantom in a "paper landscape."

Foaming at the mouth, apologists of the Civic Union argued, including with the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI authors, that there had been no split in the centrist camp. But finally the process begun a relatively long time ago has reached its logical conclusion—the board of the Democratic Party of Russia has adopted a decision to recall its representatives from the Civic Union's central organs.

Any break-up in politics is accompanied by a new association, especially as the specter of new elections glimmers on the horizon. A coalition of civil forces was accordingly created on the basis of the Civic Union.

It is highly symptomatic that at the birth of the centrist coalition which took over from the "assault troyka" consisting of names which have almost become common nouns—Rutskoy, Volskiy, and Travkin—fundamental differences were revealed of what I would call a methodological nature. Aleksandr Vladislavlev, cochairman of the "Renewal" Union, sharply criticized Aleksandr Rutskoy. The latter, as we know, slightly over a week ago suggested not only sending the government into retirement but also putting its members on trial as though our dandified pilot intended to "eliminate" military traitors in Afghanistan. Soskovets, Lobov, and Chernomyrdin, that is those government figures put in the so-called "pragmatists'" wing, did not deserve criticism in Vladislavlev's opinion. Even Rutskoy agreed with this way of putting the question—dividing the government members into "ours" and "theirs," into "good" and "bad" ("superannuated Gaydar supporters").

The Civic Union by being co-opted into the new coalition of left-centrist "pink" parties "has expanded its social base." It is hard to say whether the Civic Union ever had any kind of serious base. At any rate now, despite the lack of political slogans, the centrists have acquired a serious rival—the association of private and privatized enterprises, which includes giants like "Uralmash" and "Avtovaz." The new association, of which Yegor Gaydar is president, naturally preaches economic principles which directly oppose those of the Civic Union. As for union with the parties of a social democratic bent, that addition will hardly ensure the centrists the love of all the people. For that they would have rather to unite with the Anpilov supporters who regularly "merge in ecstasy" with the "people." And the "unequal marriage" between the "pink" intellectual Boris Kagarlitskiy and the populist Aleksandr Rutskoy could only be fictitious. Speaking in political terms—tactical. Although of course the ideals of a mixed economy are close to both politicians.

Incidentally, the last straw after which the Democratic Party of Russia's patience collapsed was the union of the Civic Union with the Socialist Party of Working People and the Party of Labor. The Democratic Party noted "the bloc's move toward the socialist camp." The pretext for "divorce" was in general terms ludicrous...

It must be supposed that for a while the coalition will be a refuge for "enlightened conservatives" from the cohort of the men of the sixties who used to use the polyclinic in Sivtsevoy Vrazhok and continue to use it heading the latest profoundly scientific foundation. Soon, actually, we must expect a second split over the most diverse points—the attitude toward the government's policy, and toward A. Volskiy, who has already managed to say that "Russia needs liberal reforms and a strong power" and has supported the president's constitution, over "radicalism" and "moderation" and the nomenklatura and non-nomenklatura past of individual leaders of the coalition. These are all petty pretexts, as it were. The germ of the split lies in the coalition mainly because of the differences which arises on the soil dividing "left centrism" and "right centrism." "Pink" and "white" in Russian political conditions nonetheless do not go well together...

Actually, the centrist forces in Russia are really being born. But they are arising outside the traditional political coordinates since left and right populism on which today's "big" politics are built has exhausted itself. The foundation for the future political center consists of entrepreneurs geared to a market economy. In addition to the fact that they are united in the association headed by Gaydar their interests are represented by the all-Russian association of "entrepreneurs for a new Russia" and the "entrepreneurs' political initiative." But that is a subject for a separate talk.

## Social Democrat Split 'Around the Corner'

*PM1106100393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jun 93 First Edition p 3*

[Report by Andrey Shishov: "The Question 'What Is To Be Done?' Remains Unanswered"]

[Text] Nizhniy Novgorod—Although unity was not achieved at the Fifth Russian Social Democratic Party (RSDP) Congress recently concluded in Nizhniy Novgorod, many of its delegates nevertheless believe that there is no split in the party and that it should immediately begin careful preparations for new elections. However, a minority at the forum believes that it will be able to form its own independent organization in the near future.

The Social Democrats planned to use the congress to draw up new tactics and elect new leaders. In the opinion of the majority of delegates, the previous leaders had failed to correctly assess society's mood before the referendum, proposing that it boycott the vote or say "no" to the president's policies.

In the opinion of new party Chairman Anatoliy Golov, a deputy in the St. Petersburg Soviet, the existence of different approaches can only be welcomed. The 47-year-old leader said that a statute on factions and movements within the party will be adopted.

Other congress delegates suggested that the task of reviving social democracy in Russia is not going well. They—the well-known public figure Aleksandr Obolenskiy, in particular—stressed that the party is lagging behind events, whereas it should be at least six months ahead of public opinion. The party has lost face and is simply going along with the president's policies, while the Social Democratic faction in parliament has fallen apart, others said.

Two different viewpoints on the development of the party and society emerged in the course of the discussion. Some—they proved to be in the majority—are convinced that the Social Democrats must continue their earlier policy of responsible collaboration with the government. This so-called pro-presidential majority won the day at the congress, securing all the key posts in the party. The minority, or the "United Faction of Social Democrats," is convinced that the president's policies have not stood the test of time and should be changed. Answering those who pointed to the referendum results, Aleksandr Obolenskiy aptly pointed out that, in the days before perestroyka, the people also unanimously voted for Brezhnev, Andropov, Chernenko, and Gorbachev.... In the opinion of those who support this faction, whom Sergey Belozertsev accused of sliding toward communism, the party must stand in opposition to the authorities, all branches of which are "working either for their own self-preservation or to defend the interests of the old and new nomenklatura and commercial and financial mafia groups." Consequently, the minority supports the organization of a "roundtable" of parties and social movements and is calling for a government of national accord.

The formation of a "left-wing" faction and the election of its leading bodies is direct evidence that an official split in the RSDP is just around the corner. The Social Democratic Center set up by People's Deputy Oleg Rumyantsev within the party framework is conducive to this.

The congress showed that many party members do not have clear, precise views on the nature of social democracy in Russia and are not really prepared to use the democratic movement's wealth of experience in post-perestroyka Russia.

All this had a negative impact on the congress' final document, which gives a highly one-sided interpretation of the party's strategy and tactics in the forthcoming period. Naturally, the Social Democrats are opposed to unemployment and inflation and see the building of cooperation between employers and hired workers as the way to improve people's lives, propagandizing the so-called social partnership theory.

The party's position is also vulnerable on a political level. The Social Democrats have no clear understanding of the nature of the new constitution or a mechanism for its adoption. At one time Vladimir Zhirinovskiy criticized the Social Democrats for being unable to nominate their own candidate for Russian president. Even now many delegates could not name a single suitable leader.

Without any doubt Aleksandr Obolenskiy could become party leader, but he shares the minority's views. Moreover he has his own idiosyncratic interpretation of some events which, according to his supporters, prevents him from winning the support of the party majority.

Incidentally, not all the congress delegates agree with the principle of one-man management which is becoming established in the RSDP. Viktor Greys, a 74-year-old war veteran, believes that the party should keep three cochairmen, as was the practice at earlier party congresses.

Despite the fact that the RSDP has marked its third anniversary, it still cannot boast that the social democratic idea has gained material strength in reformist Russia. The party is only taking its first steps in the world of big politics. Party members hope to strike a chord in the minds of the voters through their publications ALTERNATIVA, SFERA, and NOVAYA SOTSIAL-DEMOKRATIYA. What comes of this will be revealed in the elections, which the new "Martovs" and "Dans" [Menshevik leaders] are demanding be held on a multiparty basis.

## Zhirinovskiy Views Russia, Turkish Threat

*AU1206145893 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 3 Jun 93 p 4*

[Interview, "published in abridged form," with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Russian Liberal-Democratic Party, by IVERIYA EKSPRESI correspondent Giorgiy Davitadze in Moscow; date not given; originally published in IVERIYA EKSPRESI on 25 May: "Vladimir Zhirinovskiy: 'We and the KGB Support One Another'"]

[Text] [Davitadze] Vladimir Wolfovich, what have you to say about the view currently being expressed that you are a KGB agent and that this agency needs you to fill a specific "political shelf" lest it be filled by someone more clever?

[Zhirinovskiy] I indeed did fill a particular "shelf" but was never an agent. If I had been, Sevastyanov, the head of the Moscow department of the KGB, would have published my file long ago, adding that Zhirinovskiy had been recruited in such and such a year and had betrayed this person and that person. However, they have nothing. I am clean! This does not in any way mean that the KGB does not support me. We support one another. In the elections, 70 percent of the cadets at the Novosibirsk school voted for me. The same number in Moscow. I got 8 percent of the votes in the elections. This was a big victory. All the Communists together got nothing....

[Davitadze] Are you an anti-Communist?

[Zhirinovskiy] I was never a Communist. I am against anti-communism....

[Davitadze] Vladimir Wolfovich, you have repeatedly stated that, upon your election as president, you will transform Georgia into a province of Russia. Tell me, do you intend to divide our country into two provinces or will you allow us to have one with Tbilisi as its center?

[Zhirinovskiy] You are incorrectly informed. We will accept as part of Russia only those that reject a national-territorial division, that is to say, those that will become provinces voluntarily. The remainder will remain outside Russia, but we warn them: Russian troops will leave and others will enter! Then, when you ask for help, we will not give it....

[Davitadze] Vladimir Wolfovich, some of your statements arouse indignation. For example, you stated that all the Tatars should be settled in Mongolia so that they can die of scurvy and syphilis.

[Zhirinovskiy] I shall explain what I said: A journalist asked me in Ufa about the Tatars and I told him that this people should return to Mongolia. After all, they came from Mongolia along with Genghis Khan. Now, they want to create their own independent state in Russia. And not only they. I know for a fact that the president of Kalmykia wants to become Genghis Khan! I will not allow this.

[Davitadze] Do you believe that the lower part of the Volga is part of Russia?

[Zhirinovskiy] All of it is Russia! From the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean!

[Davitadze] Did you know that "Moscow" was a Finno-Ugric toponym?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, sir, I did. This is precisely what I wanted to say. If everyone now creates their own state, what will happen? The Finns will lay claim to Moscow, the Turks to Tbilisi! After all, this was their vilayet [administrative-territorial unit of Turkey]!

[Davitadze] What do you see as the way out? Could you give us some advice?

[Zhirinovskiy] We should "put a freeze" on the situation! No separations of any kind! They should be in a Russian state or separate from us once and for all! Georgia has separated and so the troops should be withdrawn immediately.

[Davitadze] It is planned to withdraw the troops before 1996. We would not mind if you withdrew them today.

[Zhirinovskiy] We will withdraw them, but they will be replaced by Turkish troops! A plan has already been devised! Everything is developing according to pattern! Do you think that the Soviet Union collapsed because Shevardnadze and Gorbachev wanted it? It was planned! There was the Soviet Union and then, one fine day, we were told: It is over, lads. It no longer exists. Goodbye and farewell! In actual fact, this was America's doing. America and Israel. They bought out the lot of them. They will destroy both Russia and Georgia and we will have a "Great Turkey" in their place. Then, they will set about China; in 50 years, there will also be no China! There will be Manchuria and Tibet. China will be divided into as many small states as suits them so that they can drain the last drop of blood.

[Davitadze] Vladimir Wolfovich, do you not think that your views are too apocalyptic?

[Zhirinovskiy] I am a specialist! That is just the point! You are a journalist and I am a orientalist. I graduated from the Asia and Africa Institute with top honors. Moreover, I have lived in Tbilisi....

[Davitadze] You lived in Tbilisi, did you?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, in 1970-72. I worked at headquarters. In the seventh department. I was a lieutenant. I remember the headquarters was located on Lenin Square and I lived on Paliashvili Street. I often ate khinkali; they cost seven kopecks then. I used to lunch on khinkali and beer for four rubles [R], whereas now I have been told that they cost R40 each. One can see that you Georgians are dying of starvation! This is what happens when you separate from Russia! You will suffer and moan and moan and regret that you did not listen to Zhirinovskiy.

[Davitadze] How do you view the ideas of national socialism?

[Zhirinovskiy] I have a negative view of these ideas. I prefer liberalism. This is the most neutral ideology. Here we have law, economics, and citizenship! You, for example, are a citizen. I do not think about whether you are a Georgian or anything else. You are a citizen—a citizen of Russia!

[Davitadze] Wait a moment, Vladimir Wolfovich. I am not a Russian citizen.

[Zhirinovskiy] That is neither here nor there! I wanted to say what was good about liberalism. It does not divide people according to nationalities. What was bad about communism? That it divided people according to their social identification: worker, peasant, Party member, non-Party man. For example, Shevardnadze was a Party member all his life and this was the only reason he achieved success. Would he have become foreign minister if he had not belonged to the Party? Or first secretary? So, there was the Party and everyone joined up: Shevardnadze, Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Yakovlev.

[Davitadze] Vladimir Wolfovich, speaking about your nationality, you said that your mother was Russian and your father was a lawyer. A lawyer, what kind of nationality is this? Are you perhaps ashamed to say that your father was a Jew?

[Zhiroinovskiy] You are mistaken, young man. I am not a Jew. I am Russian both on both my mother's side and my father's. My father was born on the Russian-German border in western Ukraine in 1907. My grandfather loved German music. In this music one often encounters such names as Wolfgang, Wolf, and so forth.

[Davitadze] Really.... How very interesting!

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, he liked the name Wolf and he was called this name.... They destroyed the whole country!... This is what gave rise to fascism in Germany!... They tried to win us Russians over to fascism! We are not a fascist party but, in three, four, five years time, it is possible that the fascists will take power into their hands. They will destroy everyone and everything—the Baltic states, Georgia. You will be squeezed from the south by the Turkish empire and from the north by fascist Russia!

[Davitadze] Vladimir Wolfovich, where were you during the clashes on 1 May?

[Zhirinovskiy] We are against any form of conflict! We did not take any part in this. I accuse the authorities! They are always the guilty ones! Shevardnadze is to blame that Georgian lads are being killed. I remember everyone rejoiced when they removed Mzhavanadze [former first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party]. What was there to rejoice about? Perhaps it would have been better if he had remained. True, there was corruption then but, at least Georgian lads were not dying.

[Davitadze] You are unceasing in cursing Shevardnadze. What have you to say about [former president] Gamsakhurdia?

[Zhirinovskiy] I do not know him.

[Davitadze] But you do not know Shevardnadze, either.

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, I do. I remember there was a conference of internal affairs ministers in Tbilisi in 1972. It was then that I made his acquaintance. We met in the hotel. I have a photograph. As for Gamsakhurdia, I do not know him well. I do not support him. Do you want to say that I could be a supporter of his? You are mistaken. It is impossible for me to support him. I support only a unified Russia. If you Georgians do not want to perish, you should also support a unified Russia.

IVERIA EKSPRESI, 25 May 1993.

Published in abridged form.

## Constitutional Conference

### Conference Proceedings for 13 Jun Viewed

#### Conference May Take One-Month Break

*LD1306082293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Text] At the beginning of the week, the Russian and foreign media and public will naturally be concentrating their attention on the work of the Constitutional Conference in the Kremlin. Originally, it was planned that the conference participants would complete discussion of the two draft constitutions—presidential and parliamentary—by 16 June. However, it is now obvious that they will not succeed in choosing a single text of the Russian fundamental law by that date, and it looks as if the conference will adopt a proposal by Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray at the plenary session on 16 June and break off its work for a month.

Another point in favor of this decision is the fact that representatives of various parties and movements have displayed common aspirations while the forum has been at work to overcome confrontation and end the constitutional process in Russia as soon as possible. This will enable the conference to be made a permanently functioning body that could be the starting point in the future for a constituent assembly.

#### Shakhray Notes Timetable

*LD1306095193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Text] Three of the five constitutional conference groups are at work in the Kremlin today. In the opinion of Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray, the fact that so many participants have come along to the conference on a rest day does honor to the conference. He also stated that a meeting between Boris Yeltsin and the leaders of republics and heads of administrations is planned for 15 June, while on either 16 or 17 June—which is also now being specified—the final plenary session of the Constitutional Conference is due to be held. That was an RIA report.

#### Groups Continue Work

*LD1306091993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0904 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 13 TASS—On Sunday [13 June] the Constitutional Conference continues to work in panels. Three sections are at work: on federal government bodies, on parties and movements, and on the subjects of the federation.

The panels dealing with commodity producers and local self-government have the bye today. The former got ahead of the other groups by the pace of the discussion of adjustments to a draft constitution. The latter have apparently gone to their regions for the weekend.

When declaring open today's meeting of the commission on the subjects of the Russian Federation, Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, coordinator of the panel, agreed with colleagues' proposal to expedite discussion and focus on those articles of the constitution which deal with relationships between the representative and executive branches of power.

Galina Starovoytova, a participant in the Constitutional Conference, told journalists that work in the panel dealing with parties and movements proceeds much slower than in the other panels. The slowdown is accounted for by a quite simple reason: Anatoliy Sobchak and Viktor Sheynis, panel co-coordinators, as academic people, try to organise work tactfully and "each person is given the floor to speak for as long as he deems fit", Starovoytova noted.

As one of the leaders of the Democratic Russia movement, Starovoytova visualises the coordination of a text of the new constitution as the final result of the Constitutional Conference's work. If this is not done, the members of the Democratic Russia movement would support a temporary law on a transitional period, which would make it possible to hold new elections to parliament.

Starovoytova declared against the dissolution of the congress by analogy with the former Soviet parliament. The problem should be tackled in a civilised manner, she said. Starovoytova favours cooperation between the Constitutional Conference and the parliament. This, in her view, will help promote the reform process legitimately.

### Security Council Idea Excluded

*LD1306105593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1043 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 13 TASS—The Constitutional Conference's commission on federal power bodies on Sunday [13 June] almost unanimously (with four votes against) decided to exclude the "Security Council" notion for the draft fundamental law.

Initially the commission members excluded an article section which included a list of officials that are members of the council.

During an ensuing discussion, Andranik Migranyan, member of the Presidential Council, pointed out that the very fact of the existence of the Security Council, consisting of "titled" persons, is fraught with a tendency towards the council's developing into a suprastate body.

Another member of the Presidential Council, Georgiy Satarov, in response to an objection by People's Deputy Yevgeniy Kozhokin about the need for the coordination of bodies connected with state security, said that this is "the only argument in favour of the Security Council" but that "this function can be performed by the Council of Ministers".

### Deputies Threaten Congress Boycott

*LD1306121893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1050 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jun—By today, 315 people's deputies of the Russian Federation had signed a statement supporting the presidential draft of the Russian Federation constitution. The authors of the statement also confirmed that they will not take part in the work of the Congress of People's Deputies if the Congress subjects to revision the agreed text of the basic law drawn up by the Constitutional Conference and if "the Congress chooses to continue the confrontation".

This was stated at a news conference in the Kremlin today by Russian people's deputies Yuriy Sergeyev, Sergey Zasukhin, and Georgiy Zadonskiy, who are participants at the Constitutional Conference. We remind you that, in order to deprive the Congress of a quorum, it would be necessary for between 350 and 400 deputies to refuse to take part in its work.

The deputies, representing the commission for federal bodies of authority within the Constitutional Conference, noted that their working commission opposed making constitutional the institutions of the presidential administration and the security council and has excluded the relevant articles from the draft basic law.

Today, journalists were allowed into the session of the working commission for federal bodies of authority. The commission supported an amendment stipulating the president's right to dissolve the parliament but insisted that the conditions for dissolving the parliament should be stipulated in the text of the basic law. The commission excluded Article 80 from the draft, which says that "the president of the Russian Federation is the arbitrator in disputes between state bodies of the Russian Federation." However, the idea of the president as arbitrator has been kept to be worked on further.

### Regions Want Sovereignty

*LD1306132793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1254 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 13 TASS—Representatives of Russian republics discussed at the Constitutional Conference on Sunday [13 June] the principles of equality of subjects of the federation and decided to add to the draft constitution a provision that subjects of the Russian Federation are equal in their interaction with federal authorities.

Besides, the draft constitution has also got a provision saying that a republic is a sovereign state within the Russian Federation, while a territory, a region, a city of federal importance and autonomous regions and areas are state entities within the Russian Federation.

### Draft on Parliamentary Elections Viewed

*LD1306145093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Text] A draft legislative act on a transitional period and elections to a new parliament on a multiparty basis is being drawn up by a special working group at the Constitutional Conference. It is entirely possible that the draft of this document will be submitted for discussion by all five groups at the Constitutional Conference next Tuesday [15 June]. This was stated to a RIA correspondent by Galina Starovoytova, co-chairman of the Democratic Russia Movement.

### Conference Continues Deliberations

*LD1306221993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1454 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podypolskiy]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 13 Jun—Today, Sunday, the Constitutional Conference continued its work in three of its five commissions: federal power bodies, parties and movements, and the subjects of the Russian Federation. [passage omitted]

The majority of the participants in the session of the federal power bodies commission agreed that the only reason for impeaching the president could be a criminal offense. They also approved an amendment stating that, if the president is incapable of fulfilling his duties, they will be carried out by the chairman of the federative council, and if he, in turn, is unable to do so, then the responsibility will be with the chairman of the state duma.

Representatives of the Russian Federation republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations discussed the article on the principle of equality of the subjects of the Russian Federation. They added amendments according to which the subjects of the Russian Federation "are equal in their relation to federal power bodies." They also adopted clauses stating that a republic is a sovereign state within the Russian Federation, while a kray, oblast, a city of federal importance, an autonomous oblast, or an autonomous okrug are state formations. Republics can establish their citizenship, while citizens of the Russian Federation will have the same rights as the citizens of the republic they live in.

The commission of representatives of political parties and movements also discussed the article on "The Russian Federation." Once general comments on the draft constitution were rejected, the commission adopted a proposal by one of its members to prepare a declaration on Russian federalism, in which the principles of reforming the federal system will be formulated. [passage omitted]

### Amendment Proposed on President's Powers

*LD1306180993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Text] The Russian president has the right to dissolve the Supreme Soviet, but the Constitution must have an exhaustive list of circumstances allowing him to do so. This is the basic content of an amendment to the new Russian constitution introduced by representatives of Sverdlovsk oblast soviet during today's sitting of the first group of the constitutional conference. Let me remind you that this group consists of representatives of federal power bodies. The information center of the president's administration told RIA that the participants in today's sitting of the first group have decided to send three of its members participating in the constitutional conference to work on the law on elections to the federal assembly.

### Deputies Hold News Conference

*LD1306161493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Video report by correspondent Vladimir Perfilyev, including recording of remarks by Mordovia President V. Guslyannikov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Irina Mishina] A few new elements appeared today in the work of the all-Russian Constitutional Conference. In particular a proposal was put forward to establish cooperation between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of power.

[Perfilyev] Even though it is Sunday, in three working groups of the constitutional conference work continued on Russia's Basic Law. At a news conference held by Russian people's deputies Sergey Zasukhin, Yuriy Sergeyev, and Georgiy Zadonskiy three possible options for adopting the new constitution were mentioned, namely a congress of people's deputies, a constituent assembly, or a referendum.

Discussing the most complicated section of the draft, the federal structure of the state, the people's deputies did not rule out the probability of a confrontation between representatives of 29 republics and the remaining population of Russia.

[Guslyannikov] At the sitting today I was saying precisely that we must not follow this road and, if the worst comes to the worst, leave everything as it is, that is to say, to preserve the status quo and in the new constitution tackle questions more globally as regards the structure of supreme power. After all, where do we have contradictions? In the fact that in Russia now there is dyarchy or anarchy. It seems to me that these complicated issues of national state structure and territorial structure should be left to be tackled by the new parliament which will be demoratically elected under a new law. I am confident that this new parliament will be able to worthily resolve this very complicated issue.

## Officials Interviewed on Conference 11 Jun

### Fedotov on Extending Deadline

*LD1106163893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1105 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jun—"I fear we cannot count on the Constitutional Conference working out a unified text for the Basic Law by 16 June," Russian Federation press minister Mikhail Fedotov told an ITAR-TASS correspondent today. In his opinion, this is due to a lack of time, because the commissions are working "unevenly." The minister believes that on this basis the Constitutional Conference will take a break for about a month, as was suggested at yesterday's plenary session by Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray and Anatoliy Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersburg.

Mikhail Fedotov believes that during this time an arbitration commission will draw all the aberrations of the forum on the Basic Law into one. Following this participants in the conference will get together for another week, during which they will "come out on the home stretch."

Mikhail Fedotov assessed the significance of the declaration on the Russian Constitution by the first vice premier highly. In his opinion, this document, "if not legally then politically, will be impossible for the Supreme Soviet or the Congress to discount." When asked whether he is preparing to take up the position of minister of justice, Mikhail Fedotov replied that "evidently this change will not happen, and I will carry on working as press minister for a bit."

### Court Should Be Reelected

*LD1106135193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1300 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS—"If a new constitution which does not provide for the institute of the Congress of People's Deputies (extended parliament), is adopted, doubts will be raised concerning the legitimacy of the Constitutional Court elected by the Congress," court member Ernest Ametistov participating in the deliberations of the Constitutional Conference said in an interview with ITAR-TASS here on Friday [11 June].

"The Constitutional Court should be re-elected after the adoption of a new fundamental law," he added.

Turning to the attitude of the entire Constitutional Court to the current conference, Ametistov noted that each judge works in commissions in his personal capacity, while the court as an institute "must not participate in law-making activities".

In Ametistov's opinion, if the Conference does not hammer out an agreed text of the constitution, its participants can adopt a declaration suggested by Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko at the plenary session on Thursday.

"The political document adopted on behalf of the representative forum attended by all the main political forces of society will be of great importance," Ametistov stressed.

"If the declaration is not approved, the Conference will adopt bills of a transitional period, including a bill on elections suggested by lawmaker Viktor Sheynis," he continued.

"But I see all these legislative acts in one package with the constitution, since its adoption alone does not settle the question of elections," Ametistov concluded.

### Official 'Fears' Conference 'Permanent'

*LD1106173593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1450 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrova and Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS—A co-author of the presidential draft constitution believes the Constitutional Conference should become a permanent body and thus develop into an assembly with the right to adopt a new constitution.

Sergey Alekseyev told reporters on Friday [11 June] that the Congress of People's Deputies has no right to adopt a new constitution because it is "the supreme legislative body of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, a state which no longer exists".

The Constitutional Conference can develop "by a natural way" into an assembly as it represents the intellectual elite of the country, according to him.

Alekseyev fears that the conference will not end as scheduled on June 16 and believes it should turn into a "permanently acting body which can in future become the backbone of the Constitutional Assembly".

By June 16 the conference can adopt a declaration proclaiming the basic principles of the new constitution, he added.

### Sobchak Comments on Conference

*LD1106154193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Report on interview with St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak by correspondent Sergey Suntsov; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] One of the serious problems which has been the subject of lively debate at the constitutional conference is the powers and rights of republics, krays, and oblasts. Where does the solution to the problem lie? Here is the opinion of one of the participants in the work on a new draft constitution, Anatoliy Sobchak:

[Begin recording] [Sobchak] The state formations which have become developed—republics, autonomous republics, districts, oblasts, and the rest—should not be affected today. That would be much too painful. Everything should be left as it is. But we must adopt rules in our tax legislation, in customs legislation, and in legislation concerning foreign trade to ensure that all subjects of the Russian Federation are equal, that is, first and foremost, in the economic sphere. We must make decisions whereby the whole of Russian territory—whether it be the republics, krays, or oblasts—is accessible for the movement of capital, for the movement of goods, and for the movement of people, the work force. If we take care of this, everything else will remain more within the sphere of state symbols, in the sphere of cultural construction, national traditions, religion, and so on. This would be the normal thing, and that is how things should develop.

[Suntsov] The Democratic Reform movement has put forward the idea of rejecting the national territorial division of Russia. What do you think of this idea?

[Sobchak] I do not think this idea is realistic today and will not lead to anything good, although in principle this idea is perfectly feasible in the long term and perfectly correct. I think that in the United States, they began by splitting into independent states then they created a confederation. Today no one calls the United States a federation or a confederation; it is a unitary state with a very strong sense of independence in the regions. [end recording]

### Slobodkin Denies Returning to Conference

*LD1106174293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Yuriy Slobodkin, people's deputy of Russia and member of the Constitutional Commission, has issued a statement. In the document, he expresses extreme indignation at the statement made by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin on 10 June at the plenary session of the Constitutional Conference which asserted that Slobodkin was taking part in the work of the Conference.

Yuriy Slobodkin stressed that his decision to boycott the work of this conference was final, and he considers it impossible for him to return to a place, he says, in which he was insulted and humiliated.

### Yeltsin Said To Retract Statement on Soviets, Democracy

*PM1106175193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jun 93 p 1*

[Boris Slavin report: "Yeltsin Retracts Words on Incompatibility of Soviets and Democracy"]

[Text] I am writing these lines on the eve of a plenary session of the Constitutional Conference. Khasbulatov and Zorkin should appear in its presidium. Between this session and 5 June's incident there has been intensive political activity by representatives of both branches of power. The Federation's components have been no less active during this week. A meeting between the republics' leaders and the president has been conducted at their initiative. At this meeting the republic leaders expressed to B. Yeltsin their dissatisfaction at Saturday's incident and raised the question of bringing closer the leaders of the two branches of power. According to B. Khubiyev, chairman of the Karachayevo-Cherkess Republic Council of Ministers, who participated in this meeting, the following conditions for such a rapprochement were put to the president:

**To take the current Constitution and the two drafts, those of the president and Rumyantsev, as a basis. To take from them what is best and prepare a unified draft of the future constitution.**

**To include the Federation Treaty in the text of the future constitution. To deem erroneous the proposition in the president's report on the incompatibility of the soviets and democracy and the illegitimacy of soviet power.**

**The question of adopting the constitution must be resolved only by constitutional means.**

As the meeting's participants are saying, the president acknowledged the erroneousness of his proposition on the incompatibility of the soviets and democracy, alluding both to his inattentive study of the fourth version of the report and to his tiredness.

### Filatov, Yeltsin Interviewed on Conference

*LD1106154693*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1515 GMT on 10 June in its 30-minute "On Political Olympus" program carries a live or recorded interview with Sergey Aleksandrovich Filatov, President Boris Yeltsin's chief of staff; a brief interview with President Yeltsin; and an interview with an unidentified businessman. The interviewer throughout is Bella Kurkova.

The first questions concern the current work of the Constitutional Conference. Filatov rounds up the procedure adopted by the conference, emphasizing the calm and professional attitude of the conference following the drama of the first day, but repeating that the government would like those deputies who had left the conference earlier to return. Filatov continues to describe the conference in general terms, saying that it is essential and seen as such by most of Russia. He says: "Everyone is most anxious to adopt a new constitution and aware of the need for one. It is, as it were, a general awareness which has now dawned on the people, the leaders, and the deputies alike and it is this awareness that currently represents the motive force for everyone who is working on the new constitution." Expounding on this, Filatov says: "The awareness that a new constitution is needed has indeed arrived. People understand that the war between authorities will not stop until the new constitution is adopted; nor will there be guarantees for our people who became businessmen, our farmers and entrepreneurs, nor will foreign investors get guarantees until the new constitution is adopted."

Filatov says that working in the Kremlin after the referendum he was aware of the support of the people, because the people were with the president. He goes on to say that he is worried for the future. A coup is possible under the present constitution, he states, so a new one is essential as soon as possible. "Undoubtedly I have fears and these will remain until, again, the new constitution is adopted. This is because the fears revolve round the fact that the old Constitution allows, given certain conditions, if the situation suddenly changes in some way, for the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet to replace those in power. So, there is this constant fear and it is very difficult to live in this fear. That is why this process is under way. On the other hand, the contrary is also the case: it is very convenient to live and have this constitution, because this omnipotence makes it possible, under certain circumstances, to carry out a coup, indeed."

He expresses optimism about possible support from the Congress of People's Deputies, citing those who signed the 10 June statement. "The statement issued today was signed, I think, by 340 deputies who are ready to have a new constitution adopted and who are ready to agree that the congress ought not to take part in it, if the congress is again used for aggressive, confrontational, bellicose purposes." Filatov adds that more signatures are expected. The corps of deputies has to find a non-confrontational mode of operation, he says, and to change its attitude fundamentally. In particular, economic reform demands cooperation. Accused of idealizing the corps of deputies, and reminded of the Mordovian situation and possible repetitions in Moscow, Filatov says the Constitutional Court decisions on Mordovia were discredited and seen not to be impartial or objective. He admits that the danger of a similar outcome in Moscow exists, but says that there are means of assessing decisions by the Constitutional Court objectively. Finally, Kurkova touches on those who turned away from Filatov after he moved from parliament to the Kremlin, and are now returning to him. Filatov said it is natural for people to change their allegiances with a changing political climate. He stresses it is necessary to seek allies for a cause that is needed by the state—the adoption of a new constitution.

The program continues with a recording of an interview with President Boris Yeltsin by Bella Kurkova, filmed on 9 June. Yeltsin is shown chairing a sitting and then walking out of a room. Bella Kurkova is waiting for him outside and asks: "Boris Nikolayevich, may I have a moment of your time? You know, work is under way in all commissions." Yeltsin interrupts: "In all groups." Kurkova continues: "In all groups. So, the work is under way." Yeltsin interrupts: "I like it, too." Kurkova continues: "If it goes on like that, it is simply a prototype either of a constitutional assembly or a parliament." Yeltsin, apparently unable to conceal his amusement, replies: "Oh, how can you say that?" and briskly walks away.

This is followed by an interview with an unidentified person described as an entrepreneur on the common interests of business people in the new constitution. Asked about social protection for individuals under the new constitution, the entrepreneur says that the draft constitution guarantees minimum incomes. He goes on to describe his work.

## Oblasts Seen Vying for Power With Republics

*MK1106104093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 24, 11 Jun 93 (signed to press 10 Jun) p 2*

[Vladimir Todres commentary under "Federation" rubric: "Mediation Between Parliament and President Is Costly. Russia's Constituent Republics Demand Full Powers"]

[Text] In setting out to make peace between Khasbulatov, who was humiliated on 5 June in the Kremlin, and the power-wielding Yeltsin, the leaders of the former autonomies knew that they would inevitably derive benefit both from the quarrel itself and from their subsequent intermediary activity.

Victor Stepanov, chairman of the Karelian Supreme Soviet, immediately offered the services of regional leaders as a go-between for a general meeting. It did not take place—on 8 June the provincial leaders saw the president and the speaker, but separately.

During the meeting with Yeltsin 16 republic chiefs insisted that the standoff could be resolved if two rival draft constitutions (not counting the communist draft) were to be merged into one. According to Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev, Yeltsin agreed in principle.

With Khasbulatov, the republic leaders (of whom only 10 eventually arrived to meet him) repeated this thesis and also demanded that the advisory character of the ongoing conference in the Kremlin be maintained and that "a full-blooded participation by the Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Commission" in discussing the drafts be ensured. Apparently the speaker was especially pleased by the regional leaders' express disagreement with Yeltsin's judgment that "the soviets and democracy are incompatible." He even chose to ignore the fact that one of those present—Kalmykia's President Kirsan Ilyumzhinov—had already translated that behest into life.

The heads of the republics reaffirmed their line—standing aside from the squabbles between the authorities in the capital. In spite of all his tricks, the president has so far failed to obtain from the provinces not only unqualified but at least stable support. Khasbulatov's statement that the periphery has been won by him also bears no relation to reality: The angry 5 June "statement by 45" was signed by the Supreme Soviet chairmen of merely four republics—Kabardino-Balkaria, Mordovia, Tuva, and Yakutia, whose views and sympathies were known even before that. As for oblast soviets, the majority of these signatories represented the traditionally anti- Yeltsin soviets in the regions of Central Russia and also well-known opponents of the presidential team from Kemerovo, Perm, Chelyabinsk, and Sakhalin (in a considerable part of these regions the power tug of war has been won by the executive branch—heads of administrations).

The envoys were not slow in demanding a substantial commission for their services: On 9 June the heads of the republics issued an appeal demanding that enshrined in the constitution should be the provision that all powers on a republic's territory be concentrated in the hands of its power bodies—with the exception of those voluntarily delegated to the Center. Naturally, one cannot hope that such wishes could be fulfilled in the near future, but anyway it was worthwhile pounding one's fist on the table—if only by way of debate on the equality of the Federation's components. Yuriy Spiridonov, head of the Komi Supreme Soviet, asserts that "the president understands the republics' situation very well."

Nizhniy Novgorod Governor Boris Nemtsov says in response to this that Yeltsin is "very afraid" of the republic heads and therefore they should pursue a tougher line with him. "Yeltsin is in a state of light shock by the republics' claims. His closest associates do not support his over-concern with the republics, believing that on the contrary, very much depends on the oblasts," Nemtsov said, commenting on the fact that Yeltsin had not invited the oblast leaders to the 8 June meeting.

It is known that Yeltsin's confidants were planning to "exert pressure on the republics from below"—via local self-government. As Boris Zolotukhin reported on 9 June, the working group of representatives of local self-government bodies at the Constitutional Conference also supported the plan for giving all the Federation components equal rights.

In the meantime, "closest associate" Sergey Shakhray said 8 June that the krays and oblasts should receive "not only economic but also norm-creating [normotvorcheskiye] powers" equal to those enjoyed by the republics. So far it is not in the interests of either the republics or the oblasts or the Center to specify this vague term.

Nonetheless, the scope of norm-creating activity will have to be defined somehow or other. So far the self-sufficient oblasts of the federation (primarily those rich in raw materials) do not intend to give in to the republics—especially in sharing with Moscow the export, customs, and tax powers.

## Deputies Participate in Constitutional Debate

*LD1006162393*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1742 GMT on 9 June broadcasts a 45-minute studio discussion entitled "Close Up," chaired by G. Solomatin and held at the participants' request. The discussion focuses on proceedings at the Constitutional Conference and the political process in Russia in general.

Solomatin opens, saying Yeltin's main concern is that the Constitutional Conference "does not break down", quoting presidential advisor Sergey Stankevich, and moves on to discuss the Supreme Soviet's general attitude: it accepted Yeltsin's invitation for Ruslan Khasbulatov to attend the Constitutional Conference, but not for heads of commissions and committees to attend. Ideological differences concerning how reform should be carried out is the reason behind the lack of cooperation on the part of some of the deputies, says Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the parliamentary commission for legislation.

Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the parliamentary committee for questions of defense and security, accuses Khasbulatov of either being inaccurate or lying yesterday at the Supreme Soviet about the number of generals in the country. Asked what the Army's view of the Constitutional Conference is, Stepashin says people who have served in the Army are interested in stability. The calls by Communists at the "so-called alternative Constitutional Conference" for the Army not to support the instructions of the president are very alarming, he says, all the more so since among the Communists there is a former top official in the Defense Ministry. Khasbulatov should have discussed this yesterday, Stepashin says.

On the issue of Yeltsin's attitude to events on 5 June, the first day of the Constitutional Conference, Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the parliamentary commission for budget, plans, taxes, and prices, points out that Yeltsin is concerned about it and has started an investigation into the rough handling of Deputy Slobodkin. He stresses that Yeltsin has given Khasbulatov the right to speak first at today's plenary conference.

The discussion then turns to the issue of Deputy Speaker Nikolay Ryabov's apparent change of political views, with Stepashin rejecting Khasbulatov's claim that Ryabov betrayed him. Ryabov in fact did not say he is for the president's constitution, but that he wants to see a single constitution emerge from the Constitutional Conference, Stepashin points out. The inablility to deal with people who hold different views is a result of the lack of parliamentary tradition, Mityukhov adds. Solomatin mentions that Ryabov was to attend this studio discussion, but had to prepare his speech for the plenary conference today. Stepashin says that a refusal by the Supreme Soviet to approve Khasbulatov's participation in the plenary conference would have meant its "departure from the constitutional process," and "unreconcilable confrontation between the two branches of power, which would immediately have spread to the localities."

On the intolerance shown by many deputies, Pochinok says some are trying "to make the soviets into what the Communist Party used to be". M. Mityukhin adds that contradictory laws are sometimes adopted because different parliamentary groups insist on various amendments. Solving real problems like poverty, pensions, and students grants is virtually impossible in this political climate, Pochinok concludes.

### Opposition Conference Tilts Toward 'Working Russia' Stance

*PM0906153993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition p 2*

[Aleksandr Meshkov report under the general headline "Attempts To Avoid Confrontation Made the Day Before": "President's Actions Engender Radicalism on Both Left and Right"]

[Text] An All-Russian Constitutional Conference convened by the opposition was held 3 June in Moscow on the initiative of the Public Committee for the Defense of the Russian Constitution and Constitutional System.

The conference was opened by Russian People's Deputy Vladimir Isakov, one of the leaders of the "Russian Unity" parliamentary bloc. The tactics adopted by the president and his entourage to speed up the adoption of the Shakhray-Alekseyev draft constitution, he said, could lead to a split in society and the loss of statehood.

Constitutional Commission member Ivan Fedoseyev criticized the president's draft constitution, which envisages the concentration of unlimited power in the hands of the head of state without controls by society.

Among other things, Saratov University Professor Oleg Mironov said: "The great Montesquieu would turn in his grave if he saw what we have done with his idea of the separation of powers in the presidential draft."

Russian People's Deputy Mikhail Astafyev expressed the conviction that it is also necessary to retain the highest collegial organ of power—the Congress of People's Deputies. The latter is less susceptible to influence by the power structures than the Supreme Soviet. However, "people who reproach the Russian people with timidity want to abolish an organ that guards the people's rights against all forms of totalitarianism."

Constitutional Commission Executive Secretary Oleg Rumyantsev said that the working group which prepared the draft constitution also took into account a number of provisions from the "Communists of Russia" variant, specifically in the sphere of social guarantees. However, in his view, there is much to be borrowed from the presidential draft as well. Rumyantsev criticized the methods employed by the president's side. Even before the Constitutional Commission's work had gotten under way, certain presidential apparatus staffers were conducting a "poll" of those taking part. It has not been ruled out, the speaker stressed, that in these conditions the Constitutional Conference will become a meeting to unanimously approve the general secretary's report.

Following speeches by Communist leaders Viktor Anpilov, Gennadiy Zyuganov, and Oleg Shenin, who denounced both the presidential and the parliamentary draft constitutions and praised the "Constitution of the USSR, the best in the world," the scales started to tip in favor of "Working Russia." Most of the audience was favorably disposed toward its speakers. In order not to lose the initiative and prevent the adoption of any "retrograde" decision, the presidium made a tactical maneuver. The conference was presented with a draft statement in which lack of obeisance for the "Slobodkin" constitution was compensated for by resolute intentions.

This statement was adopted and entitled "On Stopping a Coup d'Etat." It says that if the "presidential" Constitutional Conference attempts to turn itself into an organ for adopting a constitution, then its organizers and participants will be regarded as "parties to a conspiracy."

The determination of the said conference to defend the constitution can only be welcomed. However, the presence in its ranks of a large section of the inheritors of Bolshevik traditions gives rise to gloomy reflections. After all, in 1917 in Petrograd the Military-Revolutionary Committee was set up allegedly to "avert attempts" and "half-formed intentions" to organize so-called counterrevolution. And the committee itself decided whether or not somebody's activities constituted an "attempt."

It may be that the executive branch, which is currently flourishing in conditions of legal nihilism, will realize the dangerous consequences that violation of the country's laws could lead to. Right-wing radicalism inevitably breeds left-wing radicalism, and the conference once again demonstrated this.

## Media & Economic Issues

### 'Working Moscow,' Others To Picket Ostankino TV

#### Plan Denounced by 'Civic Union'

*LD1106172793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1428 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS—The centrist "Civic Union" bloc denounced the diehard communist "Working Moscow" movement for "planned power pressure on mass media".

On Saturday [12 June], the Russian independence day, several communist and nationalistic organisations, including the "Working Moscow" headed by Viktor Anpilov, plan to picket the "Ostankino" TV Centre demanding air time.

Moscow authorities did not allow the protest to take place near the TV centre because the hard-liners said their aim is to impede its work. The rally was allowed at the entrance to the exhibition centre, a couple of miles away from "Ostankino".

The "Civic Union" said in a statement on Friday that it is also confused by the position of the Parliamentary Committee on Mass Media which offered to "Ostankino" TV leaders to begin negotiation with the protesters.

"Recognising that the state television should provide equal possibilities to all political parties to express their views, the Civic Union cannot agree with encouraging extremism", according to the statement.

"Ostankino" head Vyacheslav Bragin responded to the parliamentary commission that he has nothing to negotiate with "political provocateurs pushing people to bloodshed".

### Rally Moves to Lenin Museum

*LD1206141793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1318 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Belskiy, Yuriy Vdovin]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jun—Viktor Anpilov, the leader of "Working Russia", today announced the intention to hold a protest action outside the Central Lenin Museum. Representatives of parties and movements of a procommunist orientation had been gathering since this morning on the square in front of the main entrance to the All-Russian Exhibition Center (the former VDNKh), so as to then go to "Ostankino" [TV building] to organize a 10-day picket of the television center. However they had to give up their plans to hold this action that had not been permitted by the Moscow authorities. All routes from the Exhibition Square were blocked by militia, including mounted militiamen. The television center building has been surrounded by forces of law and order since this morning. Only people with passes were allowed into "Ostankino". Public transport passed the television center without stopping. However as an ITAR- TASS correspondent discovered no serious offenses have been committed on the territory belonging to "Ostankino" throughout the day.

The supporters of Viktor Anpilov who had gathered on the Exhibition Square held a rally at which they expressed their categorical rejection of the policy of radio and television broadcasting in Russia and set out their now standard collection of anti-presidential slogans and demands. When Nikolay Volkov, deputy director general of Ostankino arrived at the place where the rally was being held he was handed a memorandum from the rally participants in which they demanded that they be given a daily live 30-minute information program. After that the Anpilov supporters began to disperse quietly.

### Further Rallies Planned

*LD1306112193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1113 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Postanogov and Oleg Abramkin]

[Text] Moscow June 13 TASS—To restore the Soviet Union, to uphold the soviet power and the workingman, and give air time to representatives of the Working Russia Movement every day were the slogans chanted during a meeting of the movement's supporters near the Lenin Museum building here on Sunday [13 June]. About a hundred people gathered there by noon. They did not interfere with motor or pedestrian traffic.

On June 12 supporters of the movement intended to picket the Ostankino Television studio in a demand for a daily air-time slot but they were allowed to stage a picket in another place - at the entrance to the All-Russia Exhibition Centre. Viktor Anpilov, leader of the movement, pointed out on Saturday that the demonstrators were compelled to quit but that the "struggle is not over and will be continued".

Anpilov, when addressing those present at the meeting on Sunday, again urged everyone to go to the Exhibition Centre on June 14. Touching upon further actions of the Working Russia Movement, he said that on June 22, the date marking a regular anniversary of the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, the supporters of the movement intend to organise an "antifascist meeting" on Oktyabrskaya Square and then march to the site of the tragic events of May 1, 1993.

### State Monopoly on Alcohol To Be Restored

*LD1106192193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1232 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS—Russia is going to restore the state monopoly on alcohol. The government has prepared a corresponding presidential decree, it became known to TASS on Friday [11 June].

Government spokesman Valentin Sergeyev said obligatory certification will be introduced both for home and foreign-made spirits which are to correspond to fixed norms. He said the measure was triggered by frequent cases of poisoning by various Russian and cheap foreign drinks. The spokesman said other measures to "ensure order in the country" will follow. The decree is expected to be signed on one of these days.

### More on Decree

*LD1206171793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today we received from ITAR-TASS the decree of the Russian Federation president on re-establishing the state monopoly on sales of products containing alcohol. The decree states, inter alia, that it is necessary to regularate the issue of licenses related to production and sales of commodities containing alcohol. The decree also mentions quotas to be established in the production and sales of alcohol.

It is also underlined that enterprises or their branches engaged in the production, storage, and wholesale and retail sales of commodities containing alcohol must be registered with the state.

The decree will appear in press within the next few days.

## Supreme Soviet

### Khasbulatov To Return to Work

*LD1406081293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0730 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[Text] After taking a short break from work due to indisposition, [Supreme Soviet Chairman] Ruslan Khasbulatov returns to his duties tomorrow. An ITAR-TASS correspondent learned this from Vitaliy Syrovatka, secretary of the Presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

We remind you that Khasbulatov felt unwell at the end of last week after he held an electoral conference on 10 June with leaders of soviets at all levels. They were discussing questions linked with the continuation of the constitutional process.

### Decree on Procedure for Adoption of Constitution

*PM1406113793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 1*

[Decree No. 5110-1 of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet "On the Procedure for Agreeing and Adopting the Draft of the Russian Federation Constitution," dated 4 June Moscow, the House of Soviets of Russia, and signed by Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Chairman R.I. Khasbulatov]

[Text] Mindful of the existence of the draft of the Russian Federation Consitution prepared by the Constitutional Commission, whose main provisions were approved by the Sixth Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, with amendments by the Russian Federation president approved, in the main, by the Russian Federation Constitutional Commission, the draft of the Russian Federation Constitution (Fundamental Law) prepared on the initiative of the Russian Federation president, and also other drafts of the Russian Federation Constitution prepared by way of a legislative initiative, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. The Constitutional Commission is to be required to agree with the Russian Federation president no later than 30 June 1993 on the main provisions of the draft of the new Russian Federation Constitution. In the course of agreeing on them, it is to proceed from the need to preserve civil peace and concord in society, the stability of the constitutional system, and the state unity and territorial integrity of the Russian Federation.

2. The Federation Treaty is to be included in the draft of the Russian Federation Constitution.

3. In preparing a unified draft of the Russian Federation Constitution account is to be taken of the proposals of:

plenipotentiary representatives of federal organs of state power of the Russian Federation, organs of state power of the republics within the Russian Federation, krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, organs of local self-management, political parties, trade union, youth, and other public associations, religious faiths, commodity producers and entrepreneurs, and scientific centers received at the Constitutional Commission;

participants in the conference of representatives of subjects of the Russian Federation, held in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet from 25 May through 3 June 1993;

the Constitutional Conference provided for in the Russian Federation president's Edict No. 718 of 20 May 1993;

and also the proposals of other consultative organs.

4. The agreed draft of the Russian Federation Constitution is published by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and submitted for nationwide discussion for a period of three months. The relevant proposals by citizens of the Russian Federation are taken into account by the Constitutional Commission in the unified draft of the Russian Federation Constitution.

5. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet is to complete the corresponding stages of the examination of the main provisions of the draft of the Russian Federation Constitution and to submit its own proposals to the Constitutional Commission for their agreement in accordance with the procedure provided for in this decree before 20 June and before 10 October 1993.

6. It is to be laid down that the draft of the Russian Federation Constitution is agreed among the Russian Federation president, the Constitutional Commission, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, the republics within the Russian Federation, krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg within one month of the end of the nationwide discussion.

7. The finally agreed draft of the Russian Federation Constitution is published for universal familiarization and, on the basis of Article 110 of the Constitution

(Fundamental Law) of the Russian Federation-Russia, is submitted to the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies to be convened 17 November 1993 for the adoption of this draft on its first reading.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet
[Dated] 4 June 1993

### Constitutional Conference, Khasbulatov Speech Viewed

*PM1106104393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jun 93 pp 1, 3*

[Vladimir Yermolin report: "Today Constitutional Conference Will Sum Up First Results of Its Work. Boris Yeltsin Has Proposed Setting Up Constitutional Arbitration Commission"]

[Text] A joint session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet was held 9 June. The central issue was "On the Participation of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet in the Constitutional Conference Convened on the President's Initiative." There was a slight hitch during the discussion of the agenda. At first, the deputies voted in concert to hold the session behind "closed doors," but then they decided, equally in concert, to conduct a live relay and not to remove the press from the hall. In the end they rejected the idea of a live relay, but they did not clear the balcony of journalists. The session began in an atmosphere of some nervousness.

Even before mounting the rostrum, Ruslan Khasbulatov was criticized for his "provocative" speech on the first day of the Constitutional Conference. True, the parliamentarians did not support those isolated attacks on the speaker. Then decisions were adopted to listen to Viktor Chernomyrdin on the progress of the economic reform and to Sergey Shakhray on resolving the problems of Russia's small peoples. The question of the Black Sea Fleet was also included on the agenda.

In his speech Ruslan Khasbulatov named the terms on which the Supreme Soviet might participate in the Constitutional Conference. They are, above all, the Russian Federation president's rejection of the thesis "the soviets and democracy are incompatible," the full participation of parliament and the Constitutional Commission in the conference, the examination of all drafts of the Constitution, and the conference's exclusively recommendatory nature. Khasbulatov also emphasized that the procedures for adopting the fundamental law must be exclusively constitutional, i.e. they must accord with the provisions of the existing Russian Federation Constitution, and decisions, moreover, are adopted by the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies.

This should evidently be considered parliament's response to the telegram which Boris Yeltsin sent to the Supreme Soviet Wednesday. In the telegram the Russian Federation president invited people's deputies and leaders of parliamentary committees and commissions to participate in the work of the conference.

It has also been learned that six Supreme Soviet members headed by Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of parliament, met with Boris Yeltsin Wednesday [9 June] afternoon. They might have discussed options for a compromise with the parliamentary majority. For the time being the Russian Federation president has confirmed that both Ruslan Khasbulatov and Constitutional Commission Secretary Oleg Rumyantsev will be given the floor at the plenary session, which it is planned to begin at 1600 hours 10 June. At that session it is proposed to sum up the results of the work done.

According to a report by the press service of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers Government, on 9 June Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin participated in the work of the Constitutional Conference section led by Viktor Chernomyrdin. The president reported in a brief speech that he had been to other working groups and, in his opinion, work is proceeding calmly and professionally everywhere. The president pointed out, however, that different decisions are sometimes adopted on the selfsame articles. In this connection the president proposed setting up a Constitutional Arbitration Commission of judges and legal experts, so that the commission members will promote the adoption of decisions acceptable to all.

### Parliament Debates Conference Participation

*PM1406110593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 1*

[Parliamentary observer Aleksey Vorobyev report under "Supreme Soviet Sixth Session" rubric: "To Fulfill Deputy's Duty"]

[Text] The discussion of parliament's participation in the Constitutional Conference continued at the 9 June evening session.

Deputy Zhiltsov dwelt on the confrontational style of holding the Constitutional Conference. He saw precisely this as the chief reason why subjects of the federation walked out of Saturday's plenary session, and he assumed that no constitution can be adopted in a situation of such harsh confrontation.

Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, also had his say. His opinion is that parliament was somewhat belated in deciding to participate in the Constitutional Conference, which was why excessive tension arose in relations with the Kremlin.

Developing the theme of "parliament's procrastination," Khasbulatov said that the Supreme Soviet did not have an opportunity to join in the preparations for the Constitutional Conference. The executive created a tense situation around it, threatening to go beyond the constitutional area and to turn the conference almost into a constituent assembly.

In addition, the president ostentatiously ignored parliament when preparing that departmental action.

The dramatic nature of the present situation influenced its parliamentarian participants. During the speech by the head of parliament many of those present could sense his deeply personal anxiety and his acute concern at what is happening in the country and within the Supreme Soviet's walls.

Ruslan Khasbulatov agreed that the complaints made against him by certain presidium members the day before were fair, but by some strange tradition they are made precisely at a time when the political struggle is being exacerbated.

After a lengthy and complex discussion of a draft decision on the first item on the agenda the deputies adopted a three-point decree. It proposes approving the main propositions and conclusions of the Supreme Soviet chairman's report at the session. Second, it was decided to delegate the Supreme Soviet chairman to participate in the Constitutional Conference.

## Parliamentary Conference on Relations With Armenia

*PM1106114993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jun 93 First Edition p 7*

[Karen Topchyan report: "Traditional Allies"]

[Text] Yerevan—A scientific and practical conference has been held at the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet on the subject of "Russian-Armenian Relations, Prospects for Their Development and Regional Approaches."

"Russia has always had definite influence on Armenia," Deputy Ovanes Igityan said, "and these two states were traditionally regarded as allies. By and large this is still the state of affairs today, but the specific political situation makes it necessary to adjust relations and clarify one another's positions."

Russian deputies showed particularly interest in questions of relations between the two peoples at the turn of the century in the context of Russia's policy in the Transcaucasian region. In this connection it was noted that Russian diplomacy has always attached particular importance to alliance-partnership relations, in particular with peoples of similar religion and culture to the Russians. Regrettably, it was said at the press conference, the diplomacy of both the former USSR and the present-day Russian Federation has moved away from this course, primarily harming the interests of Russia itself.

In the opinion of Bagdasaryan [not otherwise identified], the Moscow conference produced positive results. The main one being the creation of a permanent bilateral group of public and political figures who will carry out joint studies, publish various analyses, and submit the results of their work to the Russian and Armenian parliaments.

## Oversight Council Said 'Smoke Screen for Censorship'

*PM1406100993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jun 93 First Edition p 2*

[Georgiy Melikyants report: "Smoke Screen for Censorship"]

[Text] On 8 June the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Mass Media Committee considered the draft statute on the Federal Oversight Council To Ensure Freedom of Speech in State Television and Radio Broadcasting. The essence of this document leads us to believe that the Supreme Soviet is not abandoning its intention of taking control of the electronic media.

Point 1 of the draft says: The council is being set up "for the purposes of preventing censorship, political monopolism...." Exactly how is the FNS [Federal Oversight Council] (not to be confused with the other FNS—the National Salvation Front [NSF]) thinking of achieving its aims? It, quote, "analyzes the programming policy of all-Russian state license-holders (television and radio companies) and sets out for the leadership...the principles of programming policy." And, of course, "submits to the leadership...recommendations on improving its activity, taking account of the interests of various political, public, and social groups" (including those whose activity contravenes the law?).

Does this mean that recommendations to professionals, as in the whole of the last 70 years, will be given by people selected according to the "political principle"? The draft's authors answer this exhaustively, as they see it: "The Federal Oversight Council is formed from people's deputies; specialists in journalism, jurisprudence, and television and radio broadcasting; and representatives of science, education, culture and art, and political and other public associations by the method of delegating one representative from every faction in the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies which has been registered in the prescribed manner."

But in that case there are two counter questions for it. First: What if a faction does not have a scientist, jurist, or even a man who knows a little bit about journalism? Will it send whoever is available along to the Federal Oversight Council? The second question: Will a scientist, jurist, or artist put up with interference in his "creative laboratory"? Is the wording quoted not a tried and tested cloak for those who have become accustomed to "advising"?

There is a key point in the draft statute on the Federal Oversight Council: The Federal Oversight Council "appoints and dismisses the leaders of all-Russian television and radio companies." But it is not enough that it appoints chiefs—it "gives consent to the appointment and removal of deputy leaders...." In other words, the Supreme Soviet is prepared to assume the full range of Agitprop [former Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the CPSU Central Committee and other Soviet organizations] functions. Talk of preventing censorship is just a smoke screen, because there is no more proven method of censorship than that of cadre policy.

Another circumstance cannot escape mention. The Federal Oversight Council is conceived as an apparatus whose size is not even stipulated. A cumbersome structure with all its bureaucratic attributes and prohibitive functions is being created. Previously this was called Agitprop and Glavlit [Main Administration for Literature and Publishing Houses], but parliament is now renaming them the Federal Oversight Council.

There can be no doubt that journalists and their readers and viewers will find ways of resisting the attempts to take control of their dearly won freedom of information.

## Regional Affairs

### Chechen Official Injured in Assassination Attempt

*LD1206130993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0823 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Excerpt] Pavel Guskov, who heads Mayak's North Caucasus correspondent's center, has just come on the line. We are listening to you. Hello.

[Guskov] Hello. First of all, congratulations on Russia's Independence Day.

I have just received an urgent report from the CHECHENPRESS agency in Groznyy. The CHECHENPRESS agency has reported that an attempt has been made on the life of Yusuf Soslanbekov, chairman of parliament of the Chechen Republic. Soslanbekov was seriously injured and was taken from the scene by his supporters, who had just appeared where the attempt took place .

The CHECHENPRESS staff member who sent this report also conveyed a request to the Chechen Republic opposition, to all who value democratic rights, human rights, and to all representatives of the press, to organize a protest campaign against the persecution of dissidents that has begun in the Chechen republic.

All the best! [passage omitted]

### Assassination Attempt Denied

*LD1306140893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1359 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Text] Groznyy June 13 TASS - Prosecutor General of Chechnya Elza Sheripova denied mass media reports about an attempt on the life of opposition leader Yusuf Soslanbekov.

She told the CHECHENPRES news agency on Sunday [12 June] that reports of several Russian mass media "have nothing in common with reality" and are "aimed to destabilise the situation in Chechnya".

### West's Influence on Chechen Leader Viewed

*PM1406114393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 2*

[Anatoliy Yurkin article under the rubric "Sketches for a Political Portrait": "General Dudayev's Star—Is It Burning Brightly, or Burning Out?"]

[Text] Events in Groznyy are shifting drastically. However, for those who know General D. Dudayev, such developments are not surprising. The man pretending to the role of leader of the Chechen people traveled a long road to power. And his ambitious aspirations were supported not only by Russian but also by Baltic democrats.

It was in the Baltic, indeed, that the air force general's political career began—in the ancient university city of Tartu, a center of Estonian nationalism. Here ideas of sovereignization were forged—the strategic and tactical lines for the Baltic republics' secession from the Soviet Union. Suffice it to recall that M. Bronstein, ideologue of the concept of economic autonomy; M. Lauristin, who justifies the genocide of Russians in Estonia; and J. Kiarner, undistinguished author of treatises on full independence, all came from this university campus.

Tartu was for many decades—and this is no longer concealed—a relay link for Western ideology generated by the emigre intelligentsia who went abroad with Hitler's retreating troops. It was in the historical pockets of blatant anti-Soviets and anticommunists that a method for brainwashing Soviet Army servicemen carrying out their service on the territory of the Baltic republics was found. The commander of a strategic aviation division stationed in Tartu, Major General of Aviation Dzhokhar Dudayev, also found himself among the "guinea pigs." It was did not take long to find him, because the military and university campuses were located next to one another.

Incidentally, the commander of another division—of air defense troops, this one stationed in Tallinn—was also subjected to intensive brainwashing. He is also from the Caucasus, and also a pilot; his people, like the Chechens, were also subjected to repression in Stalin's time. However, this combat fighter pilot, unlike strategic aviation pilot Dudayev, did not succumb to persuasion and did not go back to his native republic to create a paradise in isolation. The Estonian democratic forces literally terrorized Dzhokhar for his compatriot's intractability. Air Force fighter regiments carrying out combat duty were blockaded by "green regiments"; checkpoints and concrete barricades were hung with lurid banners: "Occupiers—Get Out of Estonia!" "Stalin's Falcons, Clear Off to Russia!"

Calm prevailed in Tartu garrison. The Estonian nationalists did not touch "their own." As it turns out, they were energetic in teaching Dudayev true wisdom. It is no accident that he uses the same methods of combating the opposition as other democrats. For example, convening rallies in his own support. This method, developed by transatlantic special services, has been widely used in the Baltic region, Moldova, Georgia, and is now in the arsenal of the Russian reformers. Dudayev is only taking a path marked out by others in his accusations against the Yeltsin opposition: It is the side fanning the flames in Chechnya, he says, and it the side trying to remove a lawfully elected president...

Familiar methods, well-known speeches. The general's recent flight to Lithuania, where he met with his soul mate V. Landsbergis, is also indicative of the Baltic school of establishing democracy by fire and the sword. Presumably it was after contact with this music professor that the threatening notes in the general's statement appeared.

Where does the secret of the rise of Gen. Dudayev's star lie? Many people ask themselves this $64,000 question, but no answer to it has been found. Of course, it can be taken as read that the air force general was not pushed onto the political stage without the aid of the Russian mass media. Both the radical electronic and newspaper media have molded him into the image of a national hero. Remember the television and radio broadcasts and the newspaper articles. In them Dudayev is passed off as some kind of sacred Caucasian idol.

The first to figure out Dudayev—strange as it may seem—was Colonel A. Rutskoy, who also became a general. He warned Russians of the threat stemming from the self-admiring, despotic Dzhokhar. The former division commander replied that Rutskoy was a mediocrity...

An exchange of pleasantries of this kind throws little light on the essence of the political figure of Dudayev, although it denotes him as a vain main who brooks no objections. The current statements by the general-cum-president are clearly aimed at winning over the Russian president as his ally. The texts openly say as much. It can be assumed that a moment has come in the general's life when his star has begun to sink toward the horizon. Whether it will fall, leaving a dark track in history, or will begin to gain height again depends not only on Yeltsin and his entourage but also on the situation in Chechnya.

Dudayev's political survival depends not on the information blockade which he has instituted against his own and all Russia's people, nor on the armor plates of the tanks and infantry fighting vehicles being assembled in Groznyy. The general's fate to a large degree, it can be presumed, is being settled across the Atlantic and within the walls of German government installations. It cannot be ruled out that spheres of influence in the Caucasus are being secretly shared out there. Germany, throwing off the mantle of the vanquished, is again turning its gaze toward Elbrus. Transatlantic capital and its services overseeing geopolitical issues do not want to lose their influence on Georgia. That was the reason why they installed the democrat Shevardnadze there. Britain has its own interests in Azerbaijan.

In the battle for geopolitical interests a special role is being assigned to Chechnya. It is here that strike detachments are being organized in the struggle for access to the Black Sea, for a direct, unbroken link across the sea [as published] with Germany. Other "pretenders" to the lands of the former Union are encompassed in an arc of security stretching from the Baltic to Turkey and Israel. This is why Shevardnadze and an Armenian bridgehead is necessary for some, Dzhokhar Dudayev for others. The Chechen, Georgian, Armenian, and all the other peoples in this geopolitical struggle are playing the role of victims. It is on their blood and sufferings that political stars rise. The air force general is no exception.

## Chelyabinsk Administration Head's Election Ruled Legal

*LD1106173693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By correspondent Sergey Sergeyev; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On 25 April, the day of the all-Russian referendum, elections of the head of administration were held in Chelyabinsk. Most of the electorate cast their vote in favor of Petr Sumin, chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies. However, Vadim Solovyev, the governor appointed 18 months ago by the Russian president, disputed the legality of these elections on all counts.

Now we have the decision of the constitutional court. The elections of the head of administration in Chelyabinsk oblast were legal.

At a regular session of the oblast soviet, Vadim Kozlov, chairman of the Electoral Commission, told deputies that registration of the new head of administration had begun, and he was taking up office. The deputies satisfied the request of Petr Sumin to be released from the office of chairman of the oblast soviet and the early termination of his powers as a deputy. The first decisions of the new leader of the oblast administration have been read out.

However, it is clearly too early to say that an end to dyarchy has come to Chelyabinsk Oblast. Vadim Solovyev, the governor appointed by the president, has no intention of relinquishing his post. He is waiting for personal instructions from Boris Yeltsin.

## Udmurtian Prime Minister Offers Resignation

*LD1206083293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] Udmurtia Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Mironov has offered his resignation at a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. As RIA reports, this came about as a result of a check on the government's foreign economic activities. The investigating authority, without accusing the prime minister of personal gain, drew attention to the fact that the Council of Ministers had caused losses to the republican budget of many millions by its activities. The prime minister's statement will be examined by deputies at a regular session on 16 June.

## Kalmyk President Interviewed on Current Issues

*LD1306163993*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1120 GMT on 13 June carries its weekly 40- minute "Live Dialogue" program, featuring Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, president of Kalmykia—shown seated in an Elista television studio—in a live hook-up question and answer session with Ostankino television observer Andrey Skryabin; Lyudmila Telen of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI; and Mayak radio observer Yuliy Semenov, who are shown seated in the Moscow studio.

Skryabin starts by giving a few biographical details about the Kalmykian president. He is 31 years old and a multi-millionaire. He is a graduate from the State Institute of International Relations. On 11 April 1993 he was elected as president of the Republic of Kalmykia. He is married and has a son.

Asked about his attitude to religion, Ilyumzhinov says that he believes in a single universal God. He says it is true that he has invited the Dalai Lama to make a third visit to the republic. He says Kalmykia wishes to offer the Dalai Lama political asylum and also to present him with land for the construction of a Buddhist center.

Skryabin says that the view has been expressed in the press that the Kalmyk president is a new type of authoritarian leader. In reply Ilyumzhinov says: "I consider that there should always be just a single master, whether at the farm, factory, plant or in the republic or the state. That is to say, one person should possess all the rights and naturally should be accountable to the people. The situation now is such both in our republic and in Russia that there should be a single master who will assume total responsibility and be accountable to his people. Naturally, I am already being called a dictator by some quarters, but I do not consider myself to be a dictator. I am performing my national duties in line with the constitution of the Republic of Kalmykia, the constitution of the Russian Federation, and the Federation Treaty."

The Kalmyk president then answers a question from Semenov on his relations with Yeltsin. Ilyumzhinov says that the relations are like those between the Russian president and other presidents of former autonomous republics. "The relations are very normal and warm and I think that Russia and the Russian president want of course to assist the transformations that are taking place in Kalmykia."

Regarding his attitude to the issue of adopting a new Russian constitution, Ilyumzhinov says: "Kalmykia put forward its own draft Russian constitution and submitted it to the Russian Congress of People's deputies." He says that the situation in Russia is such that a new constitution needs to be adopted. He adds: "The draft that I put forward contained no general mention of the right of the subjects [of the Russian Federation] to self-determination and contained no mechanism for subjects to leave the Russian Federation. Under our draft Russia is unified and indivisible. Under our draft the Russian Federation comprises Russia with the krays and oblasts plus the republics. No one has the right to secede from the Russian Federation. In my draft constitution there is no mention of the republics being states, since Russia is unified and indivisible." Kalmykia's position, he adds, is that the adoption of any new Russian constitution should be through the Congress of Russian People's deputies, the only legitimate body that can adopt the constitution.

Further questions are then asked by the panel, some on behalf of viewers who phoned in their questions. What languages does Ilyumzhinov know? He knows Kalmyk, Japanese, English, Mongolian, some Chinese, Persian, Korean, and Russian.

Asked about the rights of minorities, the Kalmyk president said that there is no nationalities issue in Kalmykia.

Ilyumzhinov speaks about how he has been using his own money for public projects in Kalmykia. He says that he graduated at the age of 27 years and had amassed his first million by the age of 28. With his own money he is now building two Orthodox churches in Kalmykia and helping the construction of a Buddhist temple there. He has also been giving funds to children's homes, poor pensioners, and ex-prisoners.

The Kalmyk president specifies changes that he has instituted in Kalmykia's administration. He persuaded the 130-member republican Supreme Soviet on 30 April 1993 to pass a resolution dissolving all local soviets in the republic and creating a professional 25-member parliament. "It was not the president who dissolved the Supreme Soviet. It was a case of the Kalmyk Supreme Soviet deputies displaying their wisdom." All the branches of power exist in Kalmykia. When he came into office, Kalmykia had a cumbersome executive structure of some 40 ministries, departments, and committees. He has replaced this structure with just five ministries. Local administrative structures have also been reduced. Altogether there has been a five or six-fold reduction in Kalmykia's executive structures.

Telen then raises the issue of subsidies to Kalmykia from Russia's central budget. Ilyumzhinov says that in line with his election promises, Kalmykia sent a letter to the Russian Council of Ministers proposing that Kalmykia give up the subsidies. He thinks that the republic should be self-supporting. Kalmykia's proposal is at present being considered by the Council of Ministers, and he thinks that the matter will be resolved in a positive way and Kalmykia will function without any subsidies.

Concerning taxation policy, Ilyumzhinov says: "Naturally I want to reduce our taxation and remove taxes altogether, to reduce taxation to 3 percent and even abolish income tax, and by the turnover of capital obtain the percentages and profit that will help our economy to get on its feet."

Skryabin asks about the president's attitude to political parties in Kalmykia. Ilyumzhinov responds: "During the election campaign I said and stated in my program that I would simply abolish those parties and public movements that kindle interethnic dissension. Well, on 11 April Kalmykia's people elected their president, and the Democratic Party and other representatives of various parties sent declarations to the president saying that they were suspending their activities. The only party that did not do so was the Communist Party of Russia. However, I told them that I was not against their continuing to function and I would not be closing them down lest the president of Kalmykia be accused of violating human rights. These parties are now functioning on the territory of Kalmykia."

Ilyumzhinov says that privatization has been suspended in the territory of Kalmykia because of widespread abuse of the process by members of the nomenklatura. A commission has uncovered many anomalies. Many enterprises are therefore at present being returned to the people. When it has been all sorted out the privatization process will begin again.

Skryabin reads out an Orenburg viewer's question asking whether it is true that the KGB structures in Kalmykia have been abolished. The Kalmyk president replies: "On 13 April 1993 I suspended the activities of the Ministry of Security in Kalmykia's territory. I consider that we no longer have spies and we have no need to catch American or Japanese spies in the republic's territory. We now want to reorganize the structure of the Kalmyk Security Ministry and in time transform it into a Kalmyk committee of state security. We are at present working on this structure. I think that some body like the KGB in its new colors should indeed exist and each republic should have this committee, because it is necessary to combat economic crime and combat the mafia."

On the subject of armed forces, the Kalmyk president says: "In our program we stated that Kalmykia has declared its complete political neutrality. Kalmykia is not involved in a single armed conflict, and I consider that it would be wrong for it to have its own armed forces and its own national guards. We do not have our own soldiers or our own guards and we do not intend to fight against anyone. We want simply to trade and cooperate."

One of the final questions concerns the development of oil and gas in Kalmykia. Ilyumzhinov says in this connection: "We have now invited a number of specialists from foreign countries. We have been visited twice now by a UN delegation, which is at present preparing a project for the development of our oil and gas deposits."

Ilyumzhinov says he has no wish to become president of Russia. He is satisfied to be the Kalmyk president.

## Oil Executives Comment on Industry Problems

*OW1306023593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 7 Jun 93*

[Studio interview with Vladimir Sergeyevich Medvedev, president of the Oil Producers Council of Russia and CIS countries, and Ilya Ivanovich Lishnets, vice president of the state owned Rosneft enterprise, by Sergey Lomakin; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] Welcome to our regular and not so regular viewers too. The "Third Estate" segment is once again with you, and on this occasion we will talk about an event which is already one week old. However, in my view it was an event not widely enough covered in the media and it seems to me to be an extremely important problem. That is why I have invited my guests, whose titles will allow you to divine the subject that we are going to discuss. The people are Vladimir Sergeyevich Medvedev, president of the Oil Producers Council of Russia and CIS countries, and member of this council, Ilya Ivanovich Lishnets—did I pronounce your name correctly?—vice president of the state owned Rosneft enterprise. The event was as follows: exactly a week ago, fixed prices for oil products were repealed by presidential edict, effective from 1 March. So, in other words Ilya Ivanovich, can it be assumed that the first step to free the prices of oil products has been taken?

[Lishnets] We think that a correct step has been taken. Undoubtedly, it is a step towards freeing oil and oil product prices and was an extremely important thing to do because, as you know, oil production technology requires formidable and constant capital investment. In the last four years, for well known reasons, investment in the oil industry was reduced twofold. As a result, in 1992, new oil producing capabilities for an annual volume of only 38 million tonnes were introduced, instead of 120 million tonnes introduced in previous years. Because of this, the overall result of industry activity was rather pitiful. In four years, we have lost 172 million tonnes, equivalent to a year's production. You see, if we had this level in Russia, then this year we would not be producing 350 million—incidentally, this year we will lose another 50 million tonnes...

[Lomakin, interrupting] For all that—pardon me for interrupting you—it hardly seems that we have taken the first step towards world parity prices. In my view Russia is as far from world parity prices for oil products as it was five or 10 years ago.

[Lishnets] I will give you an interesting paradox. You know that in the past three years we have increased prices on oil 500 to 600 times, however, we are getting further away from world levels. If in 1990... [pauses] in 1989, the level of Russian domestic oil price was 35 to 40 percent of the world price, then today it is 17 to 20 percent.

[Lomakin] I would like to draw your attention to the rank and file consumer. When we talk in global terms everything is just so, but when we speak about the individual consumer, the picture somehow becomes unclear. Tell us, now that prices have increased, would it be realistic to expect more benzine at service stations? The lines are kilometers-long!

[Medvedev] It is not that we are experiencing a shortage of benzine, it is simply not being delivered to the consumer. And here we have a paradox: Today, there is no benzine at the pumps, and at the same time refineries are not fully occupied—they are reducing. Some enterprises are forced to limit oil production, in view of the fact that 20, 30, and sometimes more, thousand tonnes of oil daily is simply not being sold. The question is, why? Because today the financial mechanism which covers the oil producer, refiner, and vendor—that is the pumps—has simply stopped. Today, the amount in unpaid accounts is huge and many enterprises are simply working free of charge.

[Lomakin] You mean oil producing enterprises?

[Medvedev] Yes, oil producing and refining enterprises too. For example, last year non payment of accounts was at the 40 to 50 percent level depending on the enterprise. That is, in practice, the enterprise worked for nothing for half a year. In April and May this percentage increased, and in the first days of June the flow of money from sale of product had practically stopped completely. You will forgive me, but in what country do they work for nothing? That is a hobby, it is not work! To extract...

[Lomakin, interrupting] There is also a part that must be allowed as a percentage for inflation.

[Medvedev] That is without a doubt, and that is another issue. If it is a hobby to produce, refine, and retail the benzine at the pump, why do they take real money at the pump.

[Lomakin] Tell us...

[Medvedev, interrupting] Pardon me, I just wanted to quote one other example; there is a current opinion that prices for oil products and fuel are a stimulant to inflation causing all other price increases. Yesterday, I was talking with a taxi driver and I asked him: How much do you charge per kilometer at present? He said: The price is an agreed one, however, the [taxi] enterprise calculates it at 150 rubles per kilometer. And with today's price of benzine at 75 rubles per liter, the cost ratio of benzine to a kilometer is one sixth. Let us recall a few years ago when the cost of a kilometer was 20 kopeks and a liter of benzine was 40 kopeks, then the cost ratio of benzine per kilometer was one third.

In essence, in every production process, with rare exceptions, the ruble cost ratio of fuel... [pauses] of energy sources to production is not increasing, but decreasing. The primary reason for all price increases is not fuel, but the increase in the price of all materials, equipment, resources, and services which force the increase in the price of fuel and oil, inasmuch as expenditures exceed the objective cost price.

[Lomakin] It seems that we are in a vicious circle. How do you propose we break out of it?

[Medvedev] We and the specialists have repeatedly suggested that the government and the responsible ministry must look into this system of non payment. This chain—the consumer-retailer-refiner- producer-and so on chain—simply needs to be revitalized. Currently, oil producers are owed a total of approximately 800 billion [currency not specified], and those who use the fuel... [pauses] the benzine, are responsible for the non payment. If the non payer is a commercial body—and there are many of those, though many think that it is only the agriculturists and the Army who are our debtors—it should unfailingly settle its debt within a 10-day period. If it cannot settle, then declare it bankrupt and settle up using its property. If it is a budget organization, it is necessary to give it a calculated specific purpose credit. The chain reaction of payment will then start from the beginning to the end of the chain. It will reach the oilman who will settle up with the machine builder, the builder, pay for electricity, and then the financial mechanism will begin to work. This is our only salvation and it is the most essential thing that must be done today.

[Lomakin] The final question Vladimir Sergeyevich; do they understand you in the government?

[Medvedev] Yes. At the second congress of the Oil Producers Council we examined many of these issues and have forwarded our proposals to the government and the Supreme Soviet. Currently we are establishing contacts, and I would like to say that it is simply best not to interfere with the government. It needs to work and it has to control that huge Russian economy...

[Lishnets, interrupting] I apologize for interrupting, but the work to strengthen the accounting discipline is being done very sluggishly, extremely sluggishly from the point of view of the government and the bank. Our enterprises are owed approximately one trillion rubles, and our enterprises owe in excess of 600 billion rubles to the budget—not a timely settlement. The realization of the program strengthening contra accounting between enterprises is being decided very passively despite the special presidential edict and the hard decisions adopted at the beginning of July of last year.

[Lomakin] So, meanwhile, we will not call these actions, market actions?

[Medvedev] Yes. It is just an elementary procedure; an elementary financial procedure.

[Lomakin] Absolutely. That is why I think we should not forget the powerful factor that unfortunately every decision has two sides, a positive and a negative, just like the subject we were just discussing. Unfortunately, we did not have all that much time, however I hope that we have still dotted some i's. Thank you very much for the discussion and may you have every success.

[Medvedev] Thank you, Sergey.

[Lishnets] Thank you.

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## Social Tension Rising at Nuclear Center Arzamas-16

*LD1106172993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Social tension is rising in Arzamas-16, a nuclear center. The administration is still unable to pay salaries to the staff. A special commission has been set up in order to deal with the crisis, but only time will tell whether it will solve the crisis. For the time being the center needs urgent government support. The nuclear center's payment debt is approaching 4 billion rubles.

## International Affairs

### Kravchuk, Clinton Discuss Issues Over Phone

*LD1206210193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] Leonid Kravchuk, head of the Ukrainian state, and U.S. President Bill Clinton held a telephone conversation on 12 June. The U.S. President expressed gratitude for the warm reception given to Secretary of Defense Aspin and Ambassador at Large Talbott as well as the other members of the U.S. delegation which had the opportunity to hold fruitful negotiations in Kiev with the Ukrainian side. He also gave his thanks for Ukraine's constructive efforts in the sphere of disarmament and expressed his hope for the soonest possible ratification of the START I Treaty by Ukraine and its accession to the nuclear weapons nonproliferation treaty.

Bill Clinton pointed out that he was informed in detail about the complicated economic situation in Ukraine and the strikes in its southeast. He voiced support for the course of deepening democratic reforms and implementing market transformations. The U.S. President stressed that his administration, being aware of the economic difficulties being experienced by the young Ukrainian state, would render specific assistance in the form of credits. This will help to overcome the existing difficulties.

He pointed out that the United States will work in the direction of ensuring that relevant assistance will be rendered to Ukraine by all the G-7 states. President Bill Clinton confirmed his readiness to promote the improvement of relations between Ukraine and Russia and to provide good services in settling the existing debatable issues. The efforts by Russian President Yeltsin to implement the reforms are, as is known, supported by the West. It is important that the same kind of support be rendered to Ukraine as well, Bill Clinton underlined.

For his part, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk informed the U.S. President about the real state of affairs in the Ukrainian state, the strikes, and their nature. He pointed out that one important measure that would help Ukraine's economy come out of the crisis would be the implementation of monetary reform. The Ukrainian president appealed to the United States with a request to promote the rendering of relevant support by the IMF. Leonid Kravchuk briefly informed Bill Clinton about his upcoming meeting with Russian President Yeltsin. Both presidents expressed the wish to further continue personal contacts and cooperate in the interest of developing partnership and friendly Ukrainian-American relations.

### Aspin's Visit Leaves Main Issue Unresolved

*AU1106135493 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 9 Jun 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "The Secretary's 'Reconnaissance' Trip"]

[Text] The news conference held by U.S. and Ukrainian ministers of defense L. Aspin and K. Morozov made it possible to conclude that the leader of the Pentagon had arrived on the banks of the Dnieper in order to find out whether Ukraine is actually decisively opposed to immediate and unconditional nuclear disarmament. Unfortunately, although Minister K. Morozov stressed that Aspin's visit was extremely useful, the main issue—the problem of Ukraine's future denuclearization—has remained unresolved. The questions of additional financing of nuclear disarmament, security guarantees for Ukraine, and prospects for sales of components of nuclear aircraft bombs and intercontinental ballistic missiles have remained open. It was stated at the news conference that, after the end of L. Aspin's visit, a working group will be created for elaborating and implementing measures aimed at promoting cooperation between the armed forces of both countries. The visit by Ukraine Minister of Defense K. Morozov to Washington will be the next stage of such cooperation.

### Kravchuk, Yeltsin To Meet on Fleet Issue 17 Jun

*LD1106163393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1440 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Litvinov]

[Text] Kiev, 11 Jun—The presidents of Ukraine and Russia will meet to discuss the problems of the Black Sea Fleet on 17 June. Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk said this today at a meeting with the coordinators of Russian Supreme Soviet deputies' factions who are in Ukraine at the invitation of the Ukrainian Parliament. He noted that this decision was made during a telephone conversation yesterday with Boris Yeltsin. The Ukrainian president did not name the place of the meeting.

In the Ukrainian president's view, this problem should be solved as soon as possible in order not to cast a shadow on Ukrainian- Russian relations. I am confident, Leonid Kravchuk stressed, that we will succeed in this.

Answering a question from a Russian MP on the prospects for the ratification by Ukraine of the START I Treaty, the president expressed confidence that the country's Supreme Soviet will ratify the treaty. There should be no more delays, he noted, since many warheads are at the end of their service life. However, Leonid Kravchuk stressed, Ukraine should have guarantees for its security as well as the financial possibility of destroying the nuclear weapons. "I am in favor of solving this issue competently and consistently, without haste.

This problem must not be treated lightly. Ukraine has never strived to make political capital out of this."

### Further on Kravchuk Remarks to Deputies

*LD1206152693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Now, friends, as I promised, we will dwell in more detail on one of the events of 11 June, namely the meeting of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk with representatives of the Russian parliament. Here is my colleague Tamara Kucherenko with the details.

[Kucherenko] Greeting the guests, the president of Ukraine said that he was pleased to see the representatives of all political factions of the Russian parliament. This is proof that such contacts are of mutual interest to both Ukraine and Russia. Incidentally, representatives of many deputies' groups from Ukraine's Supreme Council were present at the meeting from the Ukrainian side.

Kravchuk informed those present that he had a well-grounded conversation with Russian President Boris Yeltsin on 10 June. The talk was mainly about the problems of the Black Sea Fleet. The presidents of both states decided to meet on 17 June. Kravchuk noted: On my part, I will apply all efforts to resolve this problem, which casts a shadow on relations between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples.

The president of Ukraine is aware that all problems can be resolved if one can stick to a happy medium, so to speak. If radical extremes are going to prevail, however, then Ukraine and Russia will not be able to resolve these problems. In order to strengthen trust between our governments and peoples, the parliaments of our states should constantly cooperate. They should constantly inform each other about whatever issues need to be urgently resolved, Kravchuk said.

This especially concerns such problems as the Crimea and Sevastopol. Kravchuk noted: It is true that I, personally, learn about some of the Russian parliament's or the Russian president's actions from Russian radio or television programs. I, personally, the Ukrainian president said, do not understand the Russian parliament's decision to examine the problem of the Black Sea Fleet at the session of the Russian Supreme Soviet on 11 June. Kravchuk said that, on its part, Ukraine has exerted a lot of effort to resolving the problem of the Black Sea Fleet.

The Russian parliamentarians also asked the Ukrainian president to explain Ukraine's position regarding ratification of the START I Treaty. I have no doubt that Ukraine's Supreme Council will ratify this treaty, Kravchuk said. Yet one ought not to forget that this issue is associated with liquid fuel missiles, the service life of which is now coming to an end. And (?obviously) it is from this that the Supreme Council's decision should proceed. But, Kravchuk emphasized, it is important for Ukraine to have security guarantees. There are (?other) issues (?here) too: Who should dismantle those missiles? There are financial issues: How much will this cost? Ukraine cannot assume this financial expenditure at present. Whatever the case, Kravchuk stressed, it is not worth comforting oneself with the illusion that Ukraine will dismantle nuclear missiles soon. In the Ukrainian president's opinion, this issue should be resolved competently, consistently, and with a view to the future.

One of the Russian people's deputies was interested in what Kravchuk thought about the START II Treaty signed by the United States of America and Russia. Kravchuk's reply was: I found out about this from the television. I do not want to comment on this.

The coordinators of the deputies' factions of the Russian parliament asked Ukraine's president to address issues regarding economic contacts between Ukraine and Russia in more detail, and whether or not this sphere could not go over to so-called special interstate relations. In particular, the Russian parliamentarians noted that the rules of customs trade with Ukraine do not suit the the citizens of Russia.

Regarding customs problems, Kravchuk, at this point, reminded the Russian parliamentarians that it was not Ukraine but Russia that was first to establish customs borders with our state, putting its soldiers at posts.

As far as lost economic links are concerned, in the opinion of the Ukrainian president, these links between our states should be mutually advantageous and efficient. He noted that he had proposed six months ago in Minsk, capital of Belarus, that a regime of free trade be established between Ukraine and Russia. A treaty has been signed but, Kravchuk noted, Russia had individually removed 1,900 goods from the list of proposed goods—among which were oil and gas—without which Ukraine has had a very difficult time.

So, Kravchuk said, we were not the first to start. History ought to know its heroes. History has appointed us to live as neighbors, and all the same relations between Ukraine and Russia should be constructed on the pattern of those that exist between the United States of America and Canada. Various political games could lead to the loss of one's independence both in Ukraine and in Russia, Kravchuk said.

This report on the meeting between Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and the coordinators of deputies' factions of the Russian parliament was prepared by Tamara Kucherenko.

### Navy Protests Russian Action on Black Sea Fleet Wages

*LD1106190293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Vice Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet [BSF], has signed a directive to transfer

BSF civilian personnel to the pay conditions of Russia's Ministry of Defense. The press center of Ukraine's Navy has been authorized to state that the commander's decision was made in contradiction of the agreement reached and initialed by Ukraine and the Russian Federation on the funding of the Black Sea Fleet during the transitional period.

Colonel Viktor Kopernyk, head of the financial service of Ukraine's Navy, confirms that Article 3 of this agreement envisages the payment of salaries to the blue and white collar workers of the Black Sea Fleet according to the norms and conditions of the state on whose territory the crew of the ship or vessel is stationed. The introduction of norms and amounts of pay in Ukraine in accordance with the legislation of the Russian Federation is interference in Ukraine's internal affairs.

### Sevastopol Calls For Russian Compensation for Naval Base

*LD1106191593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1652 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS—The Black Sea Fleet is Russian de facto, and united de jure. If there will be the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol, the question of Russian compensation to Sevastopol for the fleet stay should be settled, head of the Sevastopol City Council Viktor Semenov told correspondents today.

Commenting on results of his Moscow visit, Semenov said "Russian President Boris Yeltsin wants to discuss economic and political problems as one whole," sources at the Black Sea Fleet press center told ITAR-TASS.

That is why, a decision on the Black Sea Fleet should be both political and economic, and all possible variants are now discussed at the republican foreign ministry, noted the Sevastopol official. However, if the agreement does not establish the status of the Black Sea Fleet servicemen, it will be "dead."

If a decision is taken to locate two fleets in Sevastopol, the division of coastal infrastructure and separate construction of housing for Ukrainian and Russian seamen will do no good to either side.

"This question cannot be solved rashly, and I think the Ukrainian-Russian summit will be held a little later," said Semenov.

### Dnepropetrovsk Space Agency Signs Contracts

*LD1406142593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0845 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Kravchenko for TASS]

[Text] Dnepropetrovsk, 14 Jun—The "Yuzhnoye" design bureau in Dnepropetrovsk, the site of major rocket technology development, has concluded state contracts with the Ukrainian and Russian national space agencies for funding of its work on international projects. The aim is to conduct comprehensive monitoring of solar activity from earth orbit. The tasks tackled by scientists from the two countries implementing the projects provide the source of the names of the projects: "KORONAS-I," "KORONAS-F," and "FOTON."

The work is conducted in the framework of the interstate space research program of CIS states with the countries involved sharing the cost of the "KORONAS" project.

To carry out the "KORONAS-I" project, the "Yuzhnoye" design bureau from Dnepropetrovsk and the "Yuzhnoye" Machine-Building Works industrial association have already designed and produced a spacecraft, AUOS-SM-KI, and a launch vehicle, "Tsiklon." They are scheduled to be launched before the end of 1993.

The implementation of the space-rocket program drawn up earlier by Ukrainian and Russian specialists is also continuing. In particular, a team from Dnepropetrovsk led the work at the Russian Plesetsk cosmodrome, where their "Tsiklon" launch vehicle put into orbit six "Cosmos" space craft, numbers 2245 to 2250. The launch of all the craft was successful. The production of the "Cosmos" space craft, as well as their launch into orbit was financed by the Russian side.

### Hope for German Aid Heightens Kohl Visit's Importance

*AU1106131093 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 10 Jun 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Hopes for German Assistance Grow"]

[Text] In the course of FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's official visit to Ukraine that started yesterday, it is planned to sign a declaration on the principles of relations between Ukraine and the FRG and an agreement between Ukraine's Government and the Government of the FRG on cooperation in the affairs of deported citizens of German nationality.

The program of the visit includes a tete-a-tete meeting between Helmut Kohl and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, and the chancellor's meetings with Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma. Also planned are Helmut Kohl's news conference for Ukrainian and foreign journalists, negotiations between Ukrainian and German ministers, and the laying of wreaths at the Grave of the Unknown Soldier and at the monument for citizens who perished at Babiy Yar.

The significance of the political and economic partnership with Germany is growing against the background of Washington's sharply negative reaction to Ukraine's position regarding nuclear weapons. The United States has practically refused to render any assistance to Ukraine, and this, certainly, has raised the significance of Helmut Kohl's visit.

### Head of French Armed Forces Calls on Kravchuk

*LD1106191293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1643 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Nikolay Zayka for TASS]

[Text] Kiev June 11 TASS—"Ukraine is striving to develop long-term relations with France, including those in the military sphere," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk told today head of the French Armed Forces Staff Admiral Jacques Lanxade, currently here on an official visit.

"I am satisfied with successful negotiations with the French military leadership," stressed the president.

The sides discussed the ratification of the START-1 Treaty and the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear arms, as well as other issues of mutual interest.

### Meets Defense Officials

*LD1206134993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] A meeting took place on 11 June at the commission of the Supreme Council of Ukraine for Issues of Defense and State Security with the military delegation from France headed by Jacques Lanxade, armed forces chief of staff of that country.

During the course of the conversation, Olesandr Tarasenko, deputy chairman of the commission, emphasized that Ukraine is consistently adhering to its declared policy of being nonaligned and nonnuclear. In particular, in this context, he set forth parliament's position regarding nuclear weapons on Ukraine's territory and its approaches to ratification of the START I Treaty.

Admiral Lanxade, in particular, expressed support for Ukraine's position regarding the necessity for appropriate reduction of nuclear arsenals by all states. In his opinion, Ukraine should search for conditions of its security outside nuclear weapons. Lanxade evaluated highly the role of the Ukrainian peacemaking battalion which is in the former Yugoslavia. According to him, Ukraine is becoming one of the dramatis personae of European security and should extend its participation in the peacemaking forces of the United Nations.

Some other issues were also discussed during the meeting.

## National Affairs

### Kravchuk Address on Political, Economic Situation

*LD1106184893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1915 GMT 10 Jun 93*

[Address to the nation by President Leonid Kravchuk on 10 June; place not given—recorded]

[Text] First, with regard to the political situation. It is developing in a complicated way, with many contradictions. Therefore, there are no grounds for dramatizing it or playing up different situations toward its deterioration. Moreover, one must realize that this will never lead to matters improving.

After the heated debate at the Supreme Council, we must understand that each branch of power has to perform its function—the Supreme Council a legislative function, and the president and the government an executive one.

The resignation of the government or the resignation of the prime minister is and will be out of the question. Granted, that does not mean that there will be no changes taking place within the government, but this has nothing at all to do with resignation. We have agreed, and this is our agreed position, to work on the basis of the acting constitution and to carry out the decisions made by the legislative body. I believe that this is the only correct route today, and we have taken this route.

Therefore, we need to put an end to the mood of diffidence and uncertainty, and the various innuendos surrounding these issues, and to work as we should in this complex situation which has emerged today. Naturally, this must be understood by all, not just the president, the government, and the Supreme Council. We have made our position clear; this must be understood by political forces, parties, and movements, and again they must stop playing the government crisis or the executive power crisis card. It would be simply inappropriate today to speak about the absence of any crisis at all. There is a crisis in the sense that it is difficult to perform one's functions, both for the representative and the executive bodies. But this is not a crisis to be dramatized. This is the situation that has emerged. And in this situation one can work only by concerted effort.

I would once again like to stress that any statements by anyone today will remain just words, because the essence of the issue has been considered and looked at through the prism of reality which has come about; a power struggle against those in power is effectively in progress. Already some political leaders have repeatedly changed their watchwords, turned from simply opposition to constructive opposition, and from supporting the existing structures of power to openly disregarding and resolutely fighting them. Here I would like to say that it is one thing to adopt a well-considered position and another to play the card of the political crisis and the crisis of power.

I would like to emphasize with all my might that the only source of power is the people, while parties and movements are only using them, these very people, for their ambitious purposes. Those uniting today to overthrow the existing power together will, believe me, struggle for this power with the same kind of force tomorrow. And this struggle could lead to great difficulties. The people give and the people take power away. But all the people, and not separate [words indistinct].

All this can be done in a civilized way, on the basis of the law. The path of force is dangerous, very dangerous, because it will inevitably lead to fighting. Inevitably. Thank God, we have managed to avoid fighting so far. I repeat: I support the ideas and proposals to define our position with regard to the power structures, to pass laws and to hold elections to all the branches of power. However, in the political and economic chaos we did not do this, believe me. We should do this, and we will do this only on condition that we respect the law, we respect constitutional norms. We will adopt appropriate laws on elections and outline political-legal policy in constitutional laws. Then it will be necessary to hold elections and reelections. There is no other way. The example of other states which followed another path reminds us that it ends with this as a rule. History has often confirmed that this ends in confrontation. It ends in misfortune. We have already seen blood, death, refugees, and other horrors of the fratricidal conflicts that are taking place in regions of the former Union. We do not have the right, we simply do not have the right to allow this.

I am appealing to workers, peasants, and white collar workers, leaders of collectives and trade unions, not to allow a move toward lawlessness, toward applying methods of force, and calls to disobedience, to political strikes, and so on. This is a hopeless route. This is a route to disaster. We do not have the right to let our people suffer from recklessness or from steps that have not been thought out. We have one state, one multiethnic people. There is no need to divide it into east and west, into north and south. Opposition is often called for at rallies; they do not want to listen to a person, or even disdain that person simply because he or she was born in the west, when the west is identified with nationalism, and the east is identified with chauvinism; these are very dangerous things. Believe me, we cannot go along this road. It is a very difficult, very complex road, if we are going to divide the people of Ukraine by geography or by political views, or by likes. We have one people, one state. We should look after it.

The issue today is not one of personalities. No one is holding onto power. The issue is simply about forms and ways of resolving this problem, (?if it exists), but resolving it in such a way so as not to lose independence, not to stop the democratic processes, or the processes of those transformations which have already begun.

In addition, one may search for guilty parties today, speak about the mistakes which have been made—and naturally they exist, both on the part of the government, and on the part of the president—or call for the resignation of all, and for bringing them to account. Well, we have already gone through this in history. If riches had increased from this or life had become better, then such a method could have been examined, too. But history teaches us that this necessarily leads to the deterioration of both the political and the economic situation, especially when serious calls for confrontation are already being heard. We cannot allow a period of anarchy and chaos, and then direct [word indistinct] too.

The people should not allow, and I believe will not allow history to repeat itself. The people will not allow repressions, force, the uncontrolled power of one party, and a people without a voice to be repeated. We should learn from the lessons of history so that they are not repeated on our land again.

In my opinion, the main thing today is not to transgress the boundary beyond which the situation will become unbalanced or get out of control. Then forces will emerge which will take advantage of it. Definitely. I am certain that if the forces that are appealing for strikes today take hold of power tomorrow, they will do everything so there will never be any. History has already seen this. The 1917 revolution began with strikes and rallies. But already in the 1930s, those who had gone to the rallies and on strike wound up in the Gulag; those who organized the strikes wound up on top. This is the logic of political struggle. It is inevitable, because those who organized the strikes, having taken power, realized that those very strikes were in their way. And (?true), this is were democracy ceased—it ceased to be because they took the path of lawlesssness, not the path of solving power problems through the law and the constitution, but the path of force.

We need to think of what is in store for our families, our children. Everything can be done. Everything. There are no dead end situations. There is only one condition to be met: there should be order and respect for the law, and of course the work of each one in their place. All nations, believe me, all nations, have been through difficult times. But they knew that they had to overcome the difficulties themselves. And they did everything, resorting to certain sacrifices.

Now a few words on the economic situation. It is growing ever more complicated, needless to say. People can see locally what the situation is like. I only want to say that the president and the government are working in extreme conditions today. Working groups have been set up which are studying carefully all the proposals made, and are processing the relevant documents which will be signed in the near future as presidential decrees, orders, and resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers, or prepared draft documents which will be submitted to the Supreme Council.

What is their main purpose? To relieve the price shock, to protect the people, first of all those on low incomes, and to create conditions for removing artificial obstacles in the economy. I will list some of those documents: they are the issues of pricing state enterprises; working out a national program for the development of public projects; intensifying the social protection of citizens who suffered from the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster; covering the temporary pension fund deficit; indexing fixed enterprise capital; introducing a system of interest payments on the funds left in repayment accounts; establishing a more accurate growth co-efficient of the basic salary fund in order to regulate the salary fund in connection with price changes and deadlines for bank money transfers; developing a scale for the taxation of citizens' personal incomes; introducing local taxes on sales of imported merchandise, with the subsequent use of the funds for the social protection of the population; and interest payments on delayed tax payments and deadlines for bank transfers, etc.

About the banks, by the way: There are very many complaints about the banking system and they are fair complaints. They should be attended to immediately. We have prepared a decision on final deadlines for money transfers, the exceeding of which would lead to the banks being held economically responsible to their clients, on bankers' draft circulation, on debt redemption by the banks, on interest payments on funds left in enterprise accounts at the banks, etc. We have cases where some consumers consume products with great ease, but they forget to pay for them, while having the funds—and in hard currency, too. This forces manufacturers to take out expensive credits which, naturally, leads to price rises. That is why coal producers' claims against some of their partners are fully justified. I understand that certain measures will have to be taken against them, even if somebody doesn't like it.

I will not go into detail over the essence of the documents which are being prepared, although there is a need for it, I understand. But I would like to inform you that we have agreed that there will be constant systematic communication between the leaders of the state and the people via television and radio channels. Every problem will be presented in detail. I am only talking about somewhat synthesized problems which will be tackled in the near future.

However, we all must understand that any measures—additional, extreme, crisis or, rather, anti-crisis ones—will be effective only while production continues. Going on with the strike is the path to a dead end. No documents, no decrees, no resolutions, not even salary hikes will have any effect if industry is brought to a standstill. This is the main prerequisite, that we have to tackle all issues through contacts, through negotiations, through discussions. What's more, we should proceed from the main point: the real possibilities of the state. And yet, I would like to mention the main trends of stabilization. First, this is the creation of actual, equal conditions for all subjects of economic management, regardless of the forms of ownership. A package of decisions toward that end is now being drafted. Further on, the demonopolization of industry, including the use of forced levers if need be.

Next, the implementation of the monetary reform. Essential changes in the credit, finance, banking, and other systems. What's more, we are actively preparing a monetary reform, aware of the fact that it is only a transition toward new money, a change in the scale of money, prices, correspondingly. Wages and the balance of all these components, which will determine the nature of the financial and monetary relations in the country, will allow the transfer to new systems of remuneration of labor, prices, and the balancing of all this. Next comes turning large-scale state enterprises into joint stock companies, and the radical intensification of small- and medium-size privatization.

Of course, this includes a structural reorganization of the national economy. It is an open secret that today prices for oil and gas, which have grown 1,000 times over; oil prices have grown more than 1,000 times, and gas dozens of times, and these have resulted in the fact that our industry is cost-led. If we do not change the structure of industry we will be unable to earn money, because our expenditures will be higher than the selling price. This is a serious matter and this cannot be corrected in one or even two years. Peoples and states have been working on this for dozens of years, when it was necessary to change the structure for the benefit of increasing the efficiency of industry and the entire national economy.

Next comes the liberalization of foreign economic activities, which would ensure a high level of economic freedom among commodity producers. A very important trend is the drafting of documents on the decentralization of economic state regulation in the direction of stepping up the actual rights of regions and state enterprises. No matter what they say and how they say it, it is there, exactly there, in the regions, where people work and better know conditions, the specific features and nature of the production sphere and relations, and therefore they are to tackle the most important economic and other issues. Not to tackle them in Kiev but to tackle them in the regions. As far as the central executive power is concerned, it only determines the general system of economic levers, economic influence, and determines support and priorities in those branches which today must ensure the vital activity of the state. To be more specific, this goes for power engineering, and the agro-industrial complex. This goes for medicine and ensuring people's health.

These are the branches which give life to society and life to the economy. One should proceed from the fact that other branches and enterprises must work in a different regime because we cannot, the state cannot continue to carry these unprofitable enterprises. It is necessary to define specifically which ones can work in a market regime and which cannot, and give them an opportunity, on the basis of privatization with the use of other forms, to make their decision and find their place in the genuinely market conditions of life.

We pay a great deal of attention to the Donbass and to the Dnieper region. This is entirely understandable. Our most important industries are concentrated there, and a large detachment of toilers, highly qualified employees, workers, engineers, and the directors' corps work here. The example of the four oblasts of the Donetsk-Dnieper region—Donetsk, Lugansk, Zaporozhye, and Dnepropetrovsk oblasts—which have combined the efforts of representative and executive power and the possibilities of the region's economic potential, and have proposed an efficient program for jointly getting out of the crisis situation, is a good example. I have examined these proposals. They have now been handed over to the government. Work on them is being completed there. I believe that this is a very important and a very beneficial initiative by these oblasts. If we work on it together, then this will be an example of how each region, united by economic and other singularities, can get out of a crisis situation. I and the government will in every possible way support any rational proposals which arrive from regions regarding regional (?development). I am in favor of the broadest economic self-rule for regions. This is our agreed position. Both the government and the premier support this position. So does the chairman of the Supreme Council.

At present we are completing work on the mechanism regarding this. But all of this will be defined in the new constitution—political, organizational, administrative, and economic conditions for regional self-government. There is no need to hurry in this direction. The tendency toward the independence of all regions is simply unrealistic. Without a unified directorate, a unified approach, the interaction of all oblasts of this national economy which has arisen, well, this is simply impossible. It seems that there are people who perhaps do not know the extent of this complexity, of this process. We can see how difficult it is for each state which has come from the former Union to work. It will not be any easier for each oblast to work if it starts on such a path.

I would like to add another point regarding this region. Voices are heard to the effect that supposedly singularities are not taken into account. There is truth in this. But let us look at it this way. We already have the third government at work here since 1990—Vitaliy Andriyevych Masol from the Donbass, Vitold Pavlovych Fokin from Lugansk, and now Leonid Danylovych Kuchma from Dnepropetrovsk—that is people who know and knew this region, who know this region and who worked there. Surely one cannot imagine that they—if it was that simple to get out of the economic crisis and take into account all of the aspects of that region—that they did not want this. I cannot believe it.

There are things so complicated, both objectively and subjectively, which cannot be overcome simply by one's will. Time is needed to direct the economic development, in the groove of life, based on new principles. This is the most complicated task today. I would also like to object to those who claim today that if we all unite together now and set up a union again, everything would return to normal. This is nothing but a deception of the people. Russian oil would not become cheaper if we did this. The Russians would not sell it for next to nothing. Nothing would return to its proper place overnight, as some people believe.

Some believe that the old days would come back, the administrative system, the State Planning Committee would be restored, everything would work, everyone would stand at attention and fulfill somebody's instructions. We have already followed the road of reform in a very serious manner. Therefore to stop or to turn back would mean to aggravate the situation which is already now extremely complicated, in other words, we would find ourselves in a dead end street. Therefore, this issue which is raised now—the formation of an economic union within the framework of the CIS—it seems to me that this has good prospects. However, we can only speak about how to do this, which forms and methods to use to incorporate the economy of every state in this common economic market space, so that the economy would work on the principles of equality and economic benefit.

We are often accused of being autonomists, of separating ourselves. I would like to say sincerely that, from the economic point of view, Ukraine has not made even a single step which could lead to the conclusion that we disrupted relations, that we separated ourselves, that we are autonomists, etc. Ukraine has signed all the economic agreements. Ukraine itself favors economic relations. Ukraine signed an agreement today with Russia on free trade. We favor this free trade. The thing is that on the part of Russia this free trade means a list of products; it seems to me there are 1,900 products in that list—I speak from memory, with relevant warnings. So, this is not quite free trade. We come out for vast borders as far as economic life is concerned, for everything, but this is not our only wish. Russia also has its stand. We hope that the meeting between the president of Ukraine and the president of Russia, Yeltsin, on the Black Sea Fleet, first and foremost, will even broaden the range of issues to be discussed. All other issues of relations with Russia will be discussed.

We favor friendship and partnership with Russia. But then difficulties in Russia should also be taken into account. In Belarus, in Russia, everywhere they have their own difficulties. Every state goes through painful processes. The states transfer to a new way of economic life. I think that we must resolutely follow the road of reform. What's more, we must follow the road of privatization, demonopolization, and changes in the forms of ownership wherever necessary. The scale of the reform today does not meet the interests of our people. It does not. We understand that property must find its owner. And when it does, no matter whether it is a collective, a joint stock company, private, shareholders, or any other, but it must find its owner. Only then will there be an incentive to work, and only then will the economy start to function effectively, because it will develop according to objective laws and not according to the will of the administrative structures.

Now the social protection of the population. While enumerating the documents that I have just mentioned, I spoke about the importance, the utmost importance of this issue. A package of documents toward that end is today being prepared by the government. By the way, today the government considered them in their first reading, and decisions on these issues will be made either on Saturday or on Monday. As far as other issues are concerned, then I have already partially talked about them, talked about the fact that today we should not embark on the road of undermining the foundations of peace and stability in our state. Every state develops its own well-being and the very existence of the people, and creates new life only with the help and direct involvement of the subjects and objects of the economy. This is up to the people to decide. Another most important thing is the people's labor. The state cannot be wealthy, no matter how much money we print, if production keeps shrinking and if the rate of production keeps falling.

Of course, calling on the people to work in this difficult situation makes some people a little nervous. But if anyone can propose a different way, let them propose it. I for one see no other way. However difficult it may be to repeat this, I must say that only calm, accord, and labor can ensure that we have a normal process of political, economic, and spiritual life. If we do not have that then everything else loses its real meaning. Granted, it is difficult for all of us. But I hope that together we will overcome this difficulty; and I repeat, there are and can be no dead end situations. All nations, all states have been through difficulties in their historical progress, and have emerged from them honorably. I hope that our people will have enough wisdom, enough consideration, and simply enough common sense in order that Ukraine, a state which is recognized today by the world and which has the world's respect—does not allow us to ruin everything that we have already done or to take the path of violence. To be guided by sense and only sense, to think about the future—this is the most important thing today.

In this difficult work and in this advance, I am counting on all of us having a very high civic responsibility toward our people, toward our state, toward our future. Thank you for your attention.

## Kravchuk Decree on Normalizing Economic Situation

*LD1206164993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1057 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] Kiev, 12 Jun (UKRINFORM-TASS)—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has issued a decree "on priority measures to normalize the economic situation in Ukraine."

In order to strengthen opposition to the economic crisis and bearing in mind an appeal from enterprises in various sectors of the national economy, the Ukrainian National Bank has been instructed, within two days, to grant coal industry enterprises technical, non-returnable credit amounting to the sum owed by coal consumers inside Ukraine. Within 45 banking days, debts between the economic management entities of the Ukrainian energy complex, as well as their consumers, are to be offset against one another, thereby ensuring the compulsory return of the technical credit to the accounts of the Ukrainian National Bank.

## Zvyagilskiy Appointed First Deputy Prime Minister

*LD1106142093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1329 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Viktor Chamara]

[Text] Kiev, 11 Jun—Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk has issued a decree appointing Yefim Zvyagilskiy as first deputy prime minister of Ukraine, filling the vacancy which has been open for nearly three months since Igor Yukhnovskiy's resignation and substantially changing Leonid Kuchma's Cabinet of Ministers.

Yefim Zvyagilskiy, who is 60, is an experienced, authoritative, and decisive leader who enjoys strong support, primarily in Donbass, with which his working and political career is linked. Here he was in charge of the "Kuybyshevskoye" coal mine administration and later of the Zasyadko mine of the "Donetsk coal" association. It was Yefim Zvyagilskiy who last November put an end to the power vacuum in Donetsk, where for over a year deputies of the city soviet failed to elect their official leader: he received a majority of votes during elections on an alternative basis.

The new first deputy prime minister is a deputy of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, and chairman of the Donetsk oblast branch of the "Ukraine-Israel" Society. He believes that representative and executive authorities, whose status and mutual relations are being so vividly discussed, should be in the same hands. Yefim Zvyagilskiy was informed of the president's decree while in strike-ridden Donetsk.

## Deputy Premier Ioffe Released From Duties

*LD1406155393 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1131 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[Text] [No dateline as received]—By a decree of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, Yuliy Ioffe, deputy premier for issues of the fuel and power engineering complex, has been relieved from his post in connection with his transfer to other work.

## Further on Continuing Miners' Strike in Donbass

### Soaring Prices Protested

*PM1106153393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jun 93 First Edition p 2*

[Nikolay Lisovenko report: "Donbass: Prices Have Increased, and Miners Have Gone to Square"]

[Text] Donetsk—The Ukrainian parliament seems to have done everything possible to protect the poorest sections of the population from a new prices spiral. A minimum wage of 7,000 karbovanets has been set, and the minimum pension has been increased to 13,800 karbovanets. But the latest June price hike reduces to naught the significance of all these protective measures.

A loaf of bread now costs 176-200 karbovanets, a bottle of kefir 550 karbovanets, and one kg of boiled sausage 8,000 karbovanets. The prices of energy sources have skyrocketed. Thus, it is now necessary to pay 1,042 karbovanets for one liter of A-93 gasoline. The cost of one kwh of electricity has increased fivefold for apartment tenants, and the cost of central heating has gone up eightfold.

Unfortunately, the price hike occurred somehow very quietly, almost secretly. It was this that angered the miners of Donetsk, and during the night of 7-8 June they went to the square outside the oblast administration building. The miners are protesting at the way people have been treated—for prices have already been increased, while wages will be recalculated over the next three months.

Miners were also brought to the square by the fact that the same "Donetskugol" Association is today owed almost 40 billion karbovanets by fuel consumers. This is why there is nothing to pay people's wages.

Prices are already hitting hard. Sales staff in foodstores say that there have been frequent instances of women having hysterics in trade halls.

### Negotiations With Government

*AU1106195693 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 10 Jun 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Strikes Only Further Exacerbate the Situation"]

[Text] In Donetsk on June 8, miners from the Zasyadko, Gorky, and "Zhovtneva" mines went on strike. They were joined by many of the city's other enterprises. The strikers held a rally in the city's central square,

What caused the new wave of strikes in Donetsk? The miners put forward 19 demands. They include the demand of a greater economic independence of Donbass, a revision by the government of the taxation policy, and social protection of the population. On Tuesday [8 June], Ukraine's Vice Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk and other members of the government arrived in Donetsk to hold negotiations with the initiators and leaders of the strike. Intensive negotiations lasted more than eight hours. On many questions, the positions of the sides became closer. However, individual questions raised by the strikers need to be considered and resolved by the Supreme Council and Cabinet of Ministers. After corresponding consultations, the negotiations will be continued. It is no secret that the present strike in Donetsk is not only due to the social tension caused by the abrupt sharp jump in prices but also to political reasons. The strikers demand that the parliament, president, and the Cabinet of Ministers resign, without realizing that this will lead to a further destabilization of the already acute situation.

### Further Background

*PM1106152993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1, 2*

[Nikolay Lisovenko report: "Donbass Miners Not Asking for Money, but Demanding Political Changes"]

[Text] Donetsk—The miners strike that started 8 June in Donetsk is engulfing a growing number of Donbass enterprises. To be more precise, it started even earlier.

At the request of strike and trade union committees, a miners conference was held last January in Lugansk at which delegates demanded that the government eliminate the causes of the impoverishment of working people, restore broken production ties with CIS republics, and impose order in the banking and financial sphere. At that time the government apparently did not appreciate the full gravity of what was happening. A few Cabinet of Ministers staffers went to Lugansk for talks with the miners, some instructions were given, and some statements were made. That is where it all ended.

Matters in the Donbass continued to deteriorate. The impending increase in retail prices and the fruitless debates in the Ukrainian parliament throughout May have constantly politicized society. It was in this atmosphere that a conference of Donetsk Oblast miners' delegates took place 27-28 May in Novogrodovka, where the same things were discussed as in Lugansk Oblast, only in a much more pointed fashion.

The miners adopted a resolution stressing that the Ukrainian Government's anti-people economic policy has put the Donbass in a catastrophically difficult position, that taxes and prices have become another instrument for destroying working people and production collectives, and that most of the population live below the poverty line. The delegates demanded the dissolution of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, which has brought the republic's economy to the point of breakdown. In the miners' opinion, a new law on elections to the Ukrainian parliament must be adopted in a nationwide referendum and the Donbass' right to regionality must be enshrined in the constitution.

Meanwhile rumors of a sharp (threefold on average) increase in prices for food products have become a harsh reality (a miner now has to spend 100,000 karbovantsy per month on the same salami sandwich).

So, on 8 June miners from several Donetsk pits began their night shift not in their drift mines but in the square outside the administration building in Donetsk. The strike movement's leaders began a dialogue with government representatives, but this, as the saying goes, was a nonstarter. Miners trade union leader Konstantin Fesenko said angrily:

"It is impossible to agree on anything with this government."

After this he and several strike committee members walked out of the hall of sessions.

Meanwhile general directors of coal associations, Ukrainian people's deputies from the Donbass, and representatives of Donetsk, Gorlovka, Makeyevka, and other city soviets had arrived at the hall. It was suggested that Vice Premier V. Pinzenik invite Prime Minister L. Kuchma and other government members to Donetsk so that a Cabinet of Ministers session could be held and the necessary decisions made there on the spot. After a telephone call to Kiev and the news that Kuchma could not cancel the reception for a government delegation from Germany, those present decided to discuss all points of the miners' demands in detail. There are 19 of them. Positions on many of them are getting closer: This applies to wages tax, control of banking activity, indexing fixed capital, and others. But some questions need to be considered by the Supreme Soviet or the Cabinet of Ministers.

At half-past-midnight, having spent about eight hours around the table, the people from Kiev headed for home, taking a package of documents with them so that they can return to Donetsk again in a few days after holding consultations with the republic's leaders.

When the participants in the talks went out into the square toward the striking miners, the first thing they heard was a middle-aged miner's words:

"Do the Cabinet of Ministers' representatives realize that we have not come here to extort new benefits for ourselves? Not to feather our own nests. We have come to demand a human life for our entire people."

The strike continues.

## Over 80 Percent of Mines Affected

*PM1106154993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Jun 93*

[Report from Ukraine by Gennadiy Kondaurov and Li Din Khvan; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Kondaurov] The Donetsk Oblast coal industry is at a virtual standstill. More than 80 percent of the oblast's mines are on strike. The coal industry enterprises' accounts are empty. The strikers blame the government for this. In their opinion the government has set course toward the restoration of the centralized administrative-command system. The strikers claim that with its decrees instituting special powers the government has merely succeeded in disrupting the credit and financial system, triggering a production slump, and erecting insuperable obstacles to trade with foreign countries and former Union republics.

The miners' strike is clearly turning into a general strike. The "Artem-Sol" Association, and dozens of enterprises in other sectors of industry in Makeyevka, Donetsk, Gorlovka, and other cities have downed tools. At a rally in Donetsk, which is in its third day, metalworkers, transport workers, teachers, and doctors have expressed support for the miners' demands.

Miners' committees in the Kuzbass have cabled that for the duration of the strike in the Donbass they are suspending coal deliveries to the Ukraine.

One of the strikers' main demands is that regional economic autonomy be granted to the Donbass. This demand has the backing of the local soviets of deputies. [video shows idle pithead installations, vast rally, closeups of miners' faces, anti-administration slogans such as: "Kravchuk, stop leading your people back to 1933!", "Ukranian leadership, try to get by on 6,900 like the rest of the people!" "Supreme Soviet, don't drown in the people's tears!", "Destitute people, sick children!", "President and Supreme Soviet, stop fleecing the people!"]

## 'Third Force' Emerging

*PM1406110193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 7*

[Report by Vitaliy Panov: "Third Force"]

[Text] I cannot say that the Donetsk miners' present strike was that unexpected. It was clear that the grave pressure of world level prices for energy carriers which was immediately transferred to food prices would affect them primarily. It turned out that Ukraine's longstanding well-being as regards food supplies was founded by no means on its Chernozem lands but on cheap Russian oil.

And so dozens of Donbass mines have come to a halt and a third force—the Donetsk miners—has come between the authorities and the people. It was the miners who were the first victims of the very grave structural breakup of the economy carried out by the government. The miners are making economic and political demands which obviously go beyond the framework of regional demands. Trust in President Kravchuk has been shaken. In the Donbass the policy of breaking with Russia which is being pursued by the president's team has long encountered sharp resistance and Kravchuk's present obeisances in the direction of Moscow cannot put matters right now. Many experts explain the increase in the accident rate at the Donbass mines and the numerous casualties among miners in recent years by the lack of reliable deliveries of supports and metal from Russia. So the miners often have to pay the supreme price for the distortions in the government's policy.

The virtually nationwide sympathy with this action by the miners is highly indicative. Whereas back in the spring the government succeeded in creating around the striking miners the reputation of self-seekers reluctant to bear difficulties for the sake of creating an independent Ukraine, the new surge in food prices has put the majority of the Ukrainian population on the edge of survival. The miners are also supported because the economic reforms in Ukraine are making almost no headway and the sufferings the population is experiencing have no point. Privatization has failed and it is already clear that no counterpart to the Russian voucher has been found in Ukraine. The attempt to put the Ukrainian economy on its feet without privatization props simply by clamping down on the price "scissors" has been unusually painful.

If the peasant can still rely on his vegetable garden, the seller on a bucket of water, or the entrepreneur on the corruptability of the tax inspectors, the miner has nothing to pin his hopes on.

In former times, when I went underground on a mission from the editorial office, the miners shared their saved food with me. People complained then too, but the bag from which the food emerged was packed with smoked sausage, lard, vegetables, cheese, and eggs. Now people can only dream of such a "lunchbox."

The Donbass rose up precisely when the inhabitants of the Ukrainian pyramid of power were involved in their games and infighting. Vice Premier Viktor Pinzenik was sent to extinguish the conflagration started by the miners. I sympathize deeply with Viktor Mikhaylovich, with whom I am personally acquainted. The situation is such that by all world economic standards it is not advantageous to mine Donbass coal today. The state is already subsidizing the miners. But what concern is that to a man who despite the hardest work and despite risking his life has been unable to feed his family? And indeed to all appearances not all world standards are appropriate for us. Ukraine has no reliable source of energy carriers of its own except coal. The state's energy supply program adopted a year ago and seemingly already completely forgotten was geared toward coal. This program, which to all appearances was obviously unfeasible, has been replaced by a program aimed at breaking relations with Russia.

Now Pinzenik will have to sort out this situation. I must say that as an economist he is undoubtedly right —to judge by world experience only a tense force field between the last degree of poverty and working in earnest makes man himself and consequently the entire economy "turn over." But how many people in our country, by no means by their own will, have found themselves in a different force field—a field of semiwork which was nonetheless capable of keeping them fed, clothed, and shod. The tough American style of building the economic system is really cutting them to the quick. In the tough dialogue which has emerged between the people and the authorities, the initiator of which was the third force, the miners, there seem to be two truths: the vital truth of the miners and the economic truth of Vice Premier Pinzenik. Will an acceptable compromise be found?

## Strikers Receive Widespread Support

*LD1106121793 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1040 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Nikolay Stolyarov]

[Text] Donetsk, 11 June—The strike continues in the Donbass. The miners have been supported by machine-builders, students, and metal workers—virtually the entire population of this industrial region.

The demands of the strikers are far from "consumerist," although people were indeed upset at the price rises. The basic demands of the strikers is the granting to Donbass of regional independence and the holding of a referendum of confidence in the Supreme Council and the president.

A government delegation which had visited Donbass declined to hold a direct dialogue with the strikers. As was stated by the Mikhail Krylov, co-chairman of the Donetsk City Strike Committee, the commission and Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk, its head, did not have the authority to undertake constructive negotiations.

Pickets are standing day and night on October Square. By night the lamps are lit on the miners' helmets and bonfires burn. People do not disperse. Shift replaces shift. The strike continues. Of the 90 pits in Lugansk oblast, for example, 60 are idle. The majority of pits in Donetsk oblast are also idle. The number of losses mounts up. Today it is already getting on for 10,000 tons of unmined coal.

The speech on Thursday [10 June] by Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk on television and radio did not appease the ranks of the strikers.

## Only 1 Mine Still Working

*LD1206100393 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1651 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Kravchenko]

[Text] Pavlograd (Dnepropetrovsk oblast), 11 Jun—Of 11 mines in West Donbass 10 have stopped extraction. Only the Blagodatnaya mine is still working. The miners proposed that the local authorities appeal to the Pavlograd machine-builders for support for the miners' demands. Among the main demands of the striking miners are the removal of Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, regional price regulation, return of the Donbass to the ruble zone, establishment of prepayment by customers for coal, and a resolution to the problem of providing miners with everything necessary for a normal life and work. The Directors' Corps of the mines of the Basin and leaders of the trade union have decided to continue the strike until the miners' demands are satisfied. Pavel Lazarenko, representative of the president of Ukraine in Dnepropetrovsk oblast, has come to Pavlograd for talks with the strikers.

### Critical Situation in Krivoy Rog Basin, Donbass

*LD1106192593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] A critical situation is taking shape in the miners' Krivoy Rog basin and coal miners' western Donbass. This is stressed in a message sent to the Government of Ukraine by Pavlo Lazarenko, head of the Dnepropetrovsk oblast state administration. He says that the Krivoy Rog basin, one of the largest iron ore mining centers, has actually been put out of operation. Over the past week more than half a million tons of raw material have not been dispatched to the metallurgists of Ukraine. In order to solve the problems without delay, Pavlo Lazarenko proposes that competent government commissions be sent to the Krivoy Rog and Pavlograd raw material basins to study the situation on the spot.

### Action 'Staged' by Government

*WS1406075193 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] According to Donetsk Oblast Soviet Deputy Yuriy Boldyrev, who was a leader of the 1989 miners strike, the current strike is an action orchestrated by the management corps and the presidential team. Speaking to a UNIAN correspondent, Yuriy Boldyrev said that the social eruption was easy to foresee after repeated price increases, and that the state leadership knew where it was going to occur. The staged action is aimed at "letting off steam" in order to avoid problems with new prices and tariffs in other regions. In the deputy's opinion, this testifies to the total political bankruptcy of the Ukrainian leadership and loss of Ukrainian statehood, because an entity that has no economy cannot be referred to as a state.

### Trade Union Federation Comments

*LD1206150093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] A pre-strike state has been declared at trade unions that are part of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine. The appeal of the presidium of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine says that this has been caused by the latest increase in prices, carried out without sufficient measures for the social protection of the people. The bodies of state power are again resolving all of the ills in the economy at the expense of workers. Reforms are not advancing. The political and economic crisis is deepening.

Under conditions where a state program for the structural reconstruction of production is absent, hundreds of enterprises have ended up on the verge of being closed down, and the mass elimination of jobs and unemployment are becoming reality.

### Railroad, Pilot Unions Support Miners

*LD1206224793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] The Free Trade Union of Railroad Engine Drivers and the Trade Union Association of Flying Personnel have declared their support for the Independent Trade Union of Miners in its efforts to defend the social rights of the working people and the demand that the Supreme Council resign. In a document to this effect the pilots express the opinion that the economic problems of our state may be further aggravated unless the typical present-day processes are stopped.

For their part, the engine drivers consider democratic trade unions to be the only force capable of organized resistance to the actions which aggravate the living standards of the people.

### Rukh Blames Leadership

*LD1306133293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1200 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Text] The people's movement Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] of Ukraine has circulated a statement in connection with the situation in Donbass, which it assesses as a social outbreak that threatens to grow into a nationwide catastrophe.

Rukh says the president, the government, and the Supreme Council are to blame for this. The document underlines that they failed to bring the country out of the deep economic crisis through joint effort. The government's actions are qualified as inefficient and reckless, especially as far as the implementation of market reform is concerned. Rukh insists on the fulfillment of the miners' realistic demands. At the same time, in the next few weeks the Supreme Council should, in the opinion of Rukh, adopt a new election law and schedule parliamentary elections for this year.

### Strikers Form Coordinating Council

*LD1306164193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1619 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk June 13 TASS— 230 out of 250 coal mines in the major Ukrainian region of Donbass continued the strike on Sunday [13 June] and over 100 enterprises of other industries followed suit.

Miners said they will not accept any economic concessions of the government if the political demands are not met and created a coordinating council which united representatives of all striking branches of economy.

There are two political demands: economic sovereignty for the Donetsk region and a nationwide referendum on confidence to the president and legislators.

The council is to work out unified demands and decide on future actions of the striking workers. It asked all enterprises to delegate a representative to Donetsk.

The recently appointed first deputy prime minister, Yevim Zvyagilskiy, met local coal bosses on Sunday and told them that the president had vested with him considerable powers sufficient to settle economic disputes.

However, Zvyagilskiy said that now economic demands are on the background and politics dominate the strike. He expressed hope that Ukrainian legislators who are holding a plenary session on Monday will apprehend the situation and adopt the correct decision.

### Workers Stage Donetsk Rally

*LD1406072493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0659 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk June 14 TASS—A rally staged by Ukrainian workers, has begun in Donetsk at 8:00 A.M. on Monday [14 June].

Participants in the rally from five districts of the city have joined a march going towards the centre of the city where they will join other strikers on the Oktyabrskaya Square.

A session of the Donetsk Council of People's Deputies will open at 10:00 to discuss the socio-political situation in the country which emerged after the Ukrainian Government had taken ill-considered steps as regards Donbass miners.

A tense situation continues in the south-east of Ukraine, where coal miners had gone on strike two weeks ago and were supported by workers of other industries.

Preliminary reports, released by interregional coordinative strike committee, said that workers of 230 coal mines and over 100 other Ukrainian enterprises were involved in the strike, making economic, social and political demands. The strikers demand regional management of the economy and holding a nationwide referendum on confidence in the president and working people's councils. The exact number of participants in the strike will be announced on Monday night after representatives of the striking workers arrive to take part in the session of the coordinative council.

### Zyagilskiy Addresses Rally

*LD1406123993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to radio Ekho Moskvy, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk is due to meet the leaders of the trade union federation today for talks on the situation in the Donbass. The Ukrainian parliament will discuss the Donetsk miners' demands this afternoon. We have just received a report from our own correspondent Gennadiy Kondaurov in Donetsk:

[Kondaurov] Since early this morning many thousands of strikers have been converging on the center of Donetsk for a rally on the square outside the headquarters of the oblast's state administration.

Representatives of striking work forces from all major industrial centers in the region have arrived here to participate in a civil disobedience protest covering the whole of the Donbass. The strike has assumed an unprecedented scale. Enterprises in all the leading branches of industry are taking part in it—not just ones from Donetsk Oblast but also a number of other oblasts.

Addressing a rally attended by many thousands of people, Ukrainian First Deputy Prime Minister Yefim Zyagilskiy said that the strike could bring Ukrainian industry to a complete standstill. According to the government, the deficit on the Ukrainian budget currently comes to an unimaginable figure—10-11 trillion karbovantsy. Yefim Zyagilskiy told the participants in the meeting that the Supreme Soviet, which will begin an emergency session in two hours' time, must make a quick political decision on holding a referendum on confidence in the president and parliament. He added that he will seek to persuade deputies of the need for this. Civil disobedience protests are taking place in many towns of the Donbass today.

### Kuchma Adviser Criticizes Economic Reform

*LD1206202893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] The economic reform in Ukraine is proceeding at a slow pace, in a zigzag manner, and has elements of regression. This was underlined in an interview for the press by Taras Stetskiv, the prime minister's political adviser. In his opinion, the mistakes are connected with the fact that the government has not been fully reformed. The structures which still sympathize with a rigid centralized administration remain within it. The actions being carried out by Leonid Kuchma's government, believes Taras Stetskiv, only vaguely resemble radical market reform.

## Moldova

### Dniester Spokesman: Contradictions Can Be Overcome

*LD1106175293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1134 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, 11 Jun—The contradictions between Chisinau and Tiraspol that have emerged during the negotiations to settle the conflict in the Dniester Region can be overcome, and rapprochement between the sides can be achieved, stated Grigoriy Marakutsa, speaker of the Supreme Soviet of the Dniester Region.

Commenting on the work of the conciliation commissions, he acknowledged that Tiraspol leaders are not unanimous either on the issue of negotiations with Chisinau, however, "only as far as tactics are concerned, rather than strategy." According to him, all leaders of the Dniester Region support the creation of a confederation in Moldova.

### Continuing Tensions Over Dniester Viewed

*PM1406100393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jun 93 Edition p 7*

[Article by Gennadiy Sobolev: "Dniester Region: Triangle of Equilibrium. Why A Whirlwind of Political Passions Is Continuing to Rage on the Left Bank"]

[Text] Tiraspol-Moscow—Aleksandr Suvorov proudly rears his horse at the waters of the Dniester. This monument to the founder of Tiraspol, which stands next to the memorial for those who fell in last year's battles, may be considered the symbol of the Russian presence in these lands. People here are no longer shooting, but the whirlwind of political passions continues to rage. Indeed, an alarming new factor has been added to the confrontation between Chisinau and Tiraspol: The two opposing camps have been splintered by internal strife. And the parliamentary attacks by activists of the People's Front of Moldova [PFM] on the positions of President Mircea Snegur are as furious as the accusations made by 14th Army Commander General Aleksandr Lebed against the leadership of the Left Bank are insistent.

It is extremely hard to get to the bottom of the tangled web of contradictions affecting the lives of thousands of Russians in the Dniester region. Three meetings with the people who have one way or another determined the political climate in this region—which is at the crossroads of the interests of several states—will help unravel events in the east of Moldova, where an unrecognized but undeniable republic has emerged.

#### First Meeting: The Ambassador

Anatol Tsaran, a 41-year-old doctor of historical sciences, has replaced Petr Lucinschi in the post of Moldovan ambassador in Moscow; the latter has now become speaker of the republic's parliament. There is no need for lengthy explanations of why permanent contacts with Russian politicians are important to Chisinau diplomats: The Moldovan economy is almost entirely geared to the east, and furthermore, according to the new ambassador, "the key to the Dniester region problem is in Moscow."

A. Tsaran believes that the federalization of Moldova according to the option proposed by Tiraspol is undesirable because it would preserve the regime established on the Left Bank. "We are prepared to grant the trans-Dniester region broad local self-government, free economic zone status, plus a paragraph in the treaty—unprecedented in international law—under which, in the event of a change in the state status, the trans-Dniester would obtain the possibility of self-determination," the ambassador stressed. In other words, the idea of extending the laws of Moldova to the Left Bank of the Dniester remains in force, although the Tiraspol leaders will probably not accept it. The reason is simple: If these laws start operating in the Dniester region, all of yesterday's home guard who fought under the crimson and green banner will be threatened with prison. The workers and Cossacks of Dubossary, Grigoriopol, and Bendery consider it humiliating for them to depend on the condescension of Chisinau lawmakers, because they are convinced that they have fought for a just cause.

We know that almost the main cause of the war on the Dniester was rooted in the PFM appeals to join the republic to Romania. But, according to the ambassador, this idea is currently supported by only 8 percent of the inhabitants of Moldova, polled by sociologists. There is no treaty alliance between the two states, but there are private agreements. A. Tsaran spoke in detail for the first time about how Bucharest had helped Chisinau—this assistance was limited to ammunition, machines for digging trenches, and uniforms. "We fought with weapons supplied to us from the Soviet Army," the ambassador noted. "Incidentally, our troops still do not have a single tank."

He does not hide the fact that Moldovan officers are studying in Romanian military schools—the point is that they would have to pay currency for this kind of training in Russia. But whom does Moldova intend to fight, if the leaders of the Dniester region, recalling the declaration on the republic's sovereignty which speaks of the need to create a demilitarized zone, have proposed to the Chisinau government that both sides should disarm? According to the ambassador, there is practically no hope of such an outcome: A strong pro-Army lobby is operating in the Moldovan parliament, no one knows what to do with the weapons that have been bought, and—above all—there is no confidence in the Left Bank leaders. The last argument is scarcely well founded: It is known that during the conflict the Dniester region home guard fought only on their own bank, and it was only in Bendery that they crossed to the Right Bank, to defend a city which had become part of the unrecognized republic. The Dniester region people have shown in words and in action that they can defend themselves but that they have no thought of "aggression." What has lack of confidence got to do with it?

The ambassador noted in particular that the Moldovans feel no hatred toward the Russians, but in his view it is wrong to think that the trans-Dniester is Russia's outpost in the region. "The Dniester region is doing all it can to make sure that there is a bad attitude in Moldova toward Russians," A. Tsaran added. And yet, according to him, the problem is far more complex than it seems. Last year's fighting at the bridge across the Dniester, when 14th Russian Army tanks went to Bendery's assistance, is an example of this. The gun crews firing at these tanks, it turns out, contained Russian officers who are now performing service in the Moldovan Army... "They were carrying out the oath of loyalty sworn to Moldova, and they deserve respect," the ambassador stressed. "As for General Lebed, I like him, despite a number of his actions, which are inadmissible."

### Second Meeting: The Commandant

This man's name has recently always been uttered next to the name of 14th Army Commander. Colonel Mikhail Bergman, military commandant of Tiraspol, has been in his post for eight years, but he only became a celebrity in the past few months, when, together with Aleksandr Lebed, he heaped a whole tornado of accusations and threats on the Dniester region leadership. Following competent checking the accusations burst like soap bubbles, but the colonel has been speaking again and again at news conferences and television programs on the "Asket" commercial television channel, whose studio was taken under guard by Russian soldiers on the Army commander's orders.

On the day our meeting took place, Tiraspol was seething with the latest sensational news. Radio Liberty, citing M. Bergman's information, reported that the Left Bank authorities were apparently preparing an attempt on the general's life. "Mayak" soon repeated this information, but without reference to the source this time, hinting that the attempt had already taken place...

The Army commander was alive and well. All that remained was to ask the commandant what he was trying to achieve in putting yet another sensation onto the airwaves.

However, my interlocutor was not in a loquacious mood:

"This is a question of operational, that is, secret information. The general will speak in great detail about everything on television in the evening."

It only remained to guess where the commandant of a garrison, whose post has nothing to do with secrets, obtained this secret information. Meanwhile the Army commander really did appear on a local television program that evening. And he unequivocally called the talk of an assassination attempt "simply rumors." Whom are we to believe? Obviously, we had to ask the commandant some more questions. And again he was totally curt:

"Of course the information was true. But it was decided not to enlarge on the matter, in order to calm the inhabitants."

It only remains to add that, following M. Bergman's example, millions of Russia radio listeners are still convinced that the famous general in Tiraspol has been and is still being subjected to great danger. Before long the colonel, together with some armed detachments, was getting ready to storm a Dniester region guard post in order to free a deserter from his cell... There are many cases like this. Although it is clear how the "war of nerves" between the 14th Army command and the Left Bank leadership has worn out the local inhabitants. As for danger, it really does exist. In a situation which is red-hot with passions a chance shot could be the cause of an armed skirmish between the Russian soldiers and Tiraspol guards. Will the price of inflamed ambitions prove too high?

### Third Meeting: The Prosecutor

The progress of the trial of Ilie Iliescu, former leader of the Tiraspol branch of the PFM, and his five associates is like a dotted line: The accused and their lawyers obtain one adjournment after another. This is unsurprising since, if sentence is actually passed, it is very likely that the death sentence awaits the "frontists." As is known, the Dniester region law enforcement organs have accused them of two murders and the preparation of several acts of sabotage. If the court agrees with the prosecutors and the investigators, the halo of "ideological fighters for a single great Romania" will be torn off and the world will be presented with the faces of hired killers and terrorists operating on the orders of the Moldovan special services.

That is why there were so many correspondents from various countries in the courtroom, and why representatives of international law enforcement organizations are meeting with the accused. Who are these six—saboteurs or "prisoners of conscience"?

"First of all, I must reject complaints that the investigation was prejudiced," Dniester region prosecutor Boris Luchik said. "Two of the accused have pleaded guilty. Furthermore, when familiarized with the case documents the leaders of the Moldovan law enforcement organs did not protest. Having studied documents and video recordings, representatives of international organizations are now also inclined to have the investigation carried out strictly according to the law. We believe that the guilt of the accused has been proved and their attempts to prolong the court proceedings can be attributed to two factors. These people are trying to save the PFM's international reputation, and they are hoping that they will be able to avoid the punishment they deserve with the assistance of influential politicians in Moldova and other states."

According to the prosecutor, the request to exchange the "frontists" being prosecuted in Tiraspol for Russian officers arrested in Chisinau for stealing cars must not be agreed. "The officers in question are common offenders: They stole cars and speculated in spare parts," Boris Luchik explained. "Our Moscow colleagues know about this. We should scarcely release thieves and set free dangerous terrorists, who were extremely hard to catch, particularly since Iliescu and his accomplices have two lives on their conscience. I think that the court will pass sentence in this case by the end of June."

### Stop Press

A few days ago during a news bulletin the Ostankino radio and television company, citing INTERFAX, reported that 1,000 volunteers from the Dniester region had allegedly arrived in Abkhazia in four civilian aircraft to take part in fighting against Georgian forces. As the Dniester region government told the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI editorial office, this report is a gross lie and a provocation. For its part the Abkhazian side reported to INTERFAX that the "landing party" story does not accord with reality. It only remains for us to guess who released the "canard" which managed to hinder Russia's peacemaking efforts in two "hot spots" of the former Union at once.

## Tiraspol Trial Delayed Due to Judge's Illness

*AU1406045493 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1809 GMT 10 Jun 93*

[Text] Tiraspol BASAPRESS, 11/6/1993—The regular session of a panel of judges was again delayed today in Tiraspol because Olga Ivanova, the president of the panel, is still ill. The head of the investigation section in the Prosecutor's Office of Moldova, Nicolae Artenie, stayed several days in Tiraspol but did not receive permission to meet the prisoners. Previously the authorities of a prison where the prisoners are kept refused to arrange such a meeting, but Artenie had a permit signed by Ivanova. The five prisoners—Ilascu, Ivantoc, Petrov-Popa, Lesco, and Godiac—on the 8th of June announced a hunger strike demanding a meeting with representatives of the State Prosecutor's Office in Chisinau, meetings with their relatives, and access to newspapers in the Romanian language, improvement of food and living conditions. An attorney, Ion Vozian, who represents the interests of Ilascu, communicated to a BASAPRESS reporter that during this week he did not see Ilascu, due to the fact he could not meet Ivanova to obtain the necessary permission.

## Social Democrats Reject Claims on Ukraine

*AU1406110993 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 9 Jun 93 p 5*

[Svitlana Chala report from Moldova: "Moldovan Social Democrats Are Against Territorial Claims Upon Ukraine]

[Text] **Social Democrats have come out against the Popular Front's claims upon those Ukrainian territories that were, in the past, parts of Moldova. In their opinion, international law must become a platform in the relations between the republic and neighboring Ukraine. In the opinion of the Moldovan Social Democratic Party, unsettled problems must not be an obstacle to establishing multifaceted ties and a good, neighborly atmosphere between the two countries.**

The Social Democratic Party proposes that a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation be created in the northwestern Black Sea zone on the basis of concluding an interstate agreement between Moldova, Ukraine, and Romania. In the opinion of the party leaders, whose influence upon the political course of the republic is intensifying, this must become a constituent part of Moldova's external economic doctrine. This position was stated at the congress of Social Democrats that was recently held in Chisinau. The Social Democrats believe that, for achieving stability, a new parliament is, in fact, necessary, because the present one has exhausted its possibilities and is unable to resolve any of the existing problems.

The congress expressed clearly its position on the idea of a union with Romania that is being advocated by the Popular Front. Social Democrats confirmed their adherence to the position associated with the presidential course toward strengthening the republic's independence and developing integrational processes with neighboring Romania, but only to a certain point, because Moldova remains an independent state.

## Tajikistan

### Rakhmanov Visits Gorno-Badakhshan Capital

*LD1306143993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1430 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By KHOVAR news agency correspondent Valeriy Zhukov for TASS]

[Text] Khorog June 13 TASS—Tajik leader Imamali Rakhmanov visited Khorog, the capital of the Gorno-Badakhshan region of Tajikistan on Sunday [13 June] which was liberated from units of armed Tajik opposition.

During his one-day visit Rakhmanov met the personnel of the 66th detachment of Russian frontier troops and a battalion of the Defence Ministry of Kazakhstan which arrived in Tajikistan in the framework of the Collective Security Treaty.

Rakhmanov thanked Russian and Kazakh soldiers and their leaders who sent the troops to strengthen "the common CIS border".

"We have to promote the most friendly and good-neighbourly relations with all CIS countries, and especially with Russia," Rakhmanov told a joint meeting of a republican parliamentary group and the government in Khorog. He added that the leadership will carry out such a policy "despite all obstacles erected by the opposition and our foreign foes".

### Self-Defense Forces Repel 'Opposition Militants'

*LD1306133693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1320 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe June 13 TASS—Some 400-600 Tajik opposition militants were driven out of the Gorno-Badakhshan region of Tajikistan by local self-defence forces on Sunday [13 June].

This large-scale operation was conducted without the help of government forces as authorities in Khorog said they would free their region of the militants by their own forces and on condition that government troops are not deployed in Gorno-Badakhshan.

The militants were driven out into the neighbouring Garm and Komsomol-Abad regions and observers fear that the units, armed with modern weapons and manned with guerrilla-war experts from among Afghan mujaheddin may raise tension there. Still the military say that it will take them several days to neutralise the armed opposition.

In Gorno-Badakhshan the situation is returning back to normal and the Khorog-Dushanbe highway is now open after seven months of a blockade. First convoys with food and other necessities are going to Khorog and take hostages back. According to official statistics, there are 45 thousand refugees, but Khorog authorities believe the number is twice as big. Dushanbe authorities guaranteed to all refugees personal security both during the travel and in the places of residence, as well as material support.

### Opposition Said Increasing Strength on Afghan Border

*LD1206234793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1025 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 12 Jun—The operational situation along the Tajik-Afghan border remains complicated. As reported to an ITAR-TASS correspondent today by Zafar Saidov, head of the information department of the Tajik Foreign Ministry, the republic's government has at its disposal reliable information on the continuing concentration of armed groups of the Islamic opposition of Tajikistan in a number of border areas of Afghanistan.

Numerous well-armed detachments of the Islamic opposition headed by field commanders Mukhtado Dzhalolov [name as received] and Mola Abdol Rahim are concentrated on the Afghan side of the Pyandzh River opposite where the Moskovskiy and Pyandzh detachments of the border troops are stationed. It was precisely from one of these sections of the border that a border post was subjected to intensive shelling with heavy guns a few days ago, which caused the deaths of three Russian border guards.

Armed provocations are continuing along the Khorog and Darvaz sections of the Tajik-Afghan border, where armed detachments of the Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan, under Mullo Abdugaffor [name as received] and Davlat Usmon, are concentrated on the opposite side.

Zafar Saidov noted that the leaders of antigovernment formations had not given up their attempts to destabilize the situation in Tajikistan. He added that in view of this, Tajikistan's Foreign Ministry has stated that the republic's government has placed full responsibility for any possible consequences of armed provocations on the leaders of the Islamic Revival Party and the Afghan field commanders who allow the Tajik armed opposition to stay in the areas under their control. The Foreign Ministry spokesman also revealed that talks have begun between Russian border guards and border troop commanders of several Afghan provinces.

### Security Services Confiscate Guns, Ammo, Explosives

*LD1206164493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1559 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe June 12 TASS—A large-scale operation aimed at neutralising illegal armed groups, including criminal gangs, as well as confiscating fire arms from the population, is under way in the Tajik capital. Troops of the National Security Committee and the Interior Ministry of the republic are taking part in it.

According to the press centre of the Tajik Interior Ministry, dozens of pieces of automatic fire arms, thousands of pieces of ammunition and dozens of kilograms of explosives were confiscated in Dushanbe over the past two days.

During the operation hundreds of flats were found which were illegally occupied, as well as numerous automobiles, not belonging to anyone in particular. A large ammunition cache was found in the Haeti Nab mosque, in a Dushanbe suburb. Islamists hid ammunition there, including for armoured personnel carriers, so that it would be kept there awaiting their return.

Fourteen submachine-guns and 4,000 cartridges for them were found in the flat of an activist of the former opposition headquarters of Nadzhoti Vatan (Salvation of Motherland).

The operation includes the massive checking of passports. In order to prevent the infiltration of armed fighters into the capital, as well as the bringing in of armaments and narcotics, all approaches to the city are blocked by armoured units of government troops jointly with units of the Russian motorized rifle division.

## Turkmenistan

### Joint Cooperation Committee Formed With Japan

*LD1106225993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1930 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat, 11 Jun—The head of a Japanese Government delegation, Mitsubishi Corporation President Shinroku Morohashi, has described the decision to set up a joint Japanese-Turkmen economic cooperation committee as one of the main results of talks today in Ashgabat. "We reached this decision on the basis of the large extent of cooperation that is already evident," he told an ITAR-TASS correspondent. Mr. Morohashi said that Turkmenistan had huge economic potential, which was of great interest to Japan.

Future cooperation is expected to extend to key sectors of Turkmenistan's economy. In particular, Japan intends to join work on developing oil and gas deposits, as well as the recently discovered gold deposit in Kizyl-Kaya. Japanese specialists are especially interested in the Karabogazgol gulf and its untapped chemical potential and in Turkmenistan's iodine deposits. Specialists from both countries believe that the joint economic committee, the agreement on which was reached at a meeting between the leaders of the Japanese delegation and President Saparmurad Niyazov of Turkmenistan, will become a permanent and reliable channel for discussion of current and future aspects of bilateral cooperation, as part of which specific projects will follow in the immediate future.

### More Oil Rights Put Out to Tender

*LD1106151993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1006 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat, 11 Jun—The date has been announced for the holding of an international tender for the right to investigate and exploit Turkmenistan's oil deposits. The newspaper TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA reports today that it will take place on 20 June in the U.S. city of Denver. It will be the third such competition held by Turkmenistan among the world's major oil companies. Several well-known firms have stated their intention to take part in the tender, including Britain's "British Petroleum" and "Amok" [as received], Argentina's "Bridas," and the Dutch "Larmak Energy" [as received].

These and other companies will compete "to obtain the right to work the southwestern Barsa-Kelmes and Burun fields, as well as for exploratory areas in the Caspian Sea." They will be offered so-called model contracts, the terms of which have already been stipulated by the Turkmen side and are not subject to alteration. At the two earlier tenders, the formation of a joint enterprise, the participation in it of Turkmen workers, and the development of an infrastructure in the area of raw-material extraction were mandatory conditions.

After past competitions, two joint Turkmen-Argentine enterprises have already been set up, and the details of the creation of three more joint enterprises are being worked out with companies from the United States, Holland, and the United Arab Emirates.

## Armenia

### Karabakh Presidium Meets, Debates CSCE Initiatives

*NC1106174493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1457 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Stepanakert, June 11 (SNARK)—Karabakh parliament Presidium members had an extraordinary meeting this early morning. Karabakh Department of the Press and Information reported SNARK Georgiy Petrosyan acting chairman of Karabakh parliament spoke out with information on negotiations among Karabakh leaders and Russian Foreign and National Security Ministers Andrey Kozyrev and Viktor Barannikov. Then the Presidium proceed with discussions on the project of response to the CSCE Minsk group peaceful initiative. They have not achieved an agreement by this noon. It is likely that the meeting would be proceeded with participation of Karabakh State Defence Committee members.

### Spokesman Fears Azerbaijan Situation May Disrupt Talks

*NC1106164493 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Asked to comment by a NOYAN TAPAN news agency correspondent on the position of the Armenian authorities regarding developments in Azerbaijan, Armenian presidential press spokesman Aram Abrahamyan replied: What is happening in Azerbaijan is that country's internal affair. We believe that the Azerbaijani people can decide who and which forces should govern Azerbaijan. However, Armenia is worried that the internal events taking place in Azerbaijan might disrupt the process taking place within the CSCE for the peaceful settlement of the Karabakh problem.

### Azerbaijani Troops Said To Violate Karabakh Border

*NC1306094793 Yerevan SNARK in English 0925 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Press service of Karabakh Parliament Report]

[Text] Stepanakert, June 13 (SNARK)—Press Secretary of Karabakh parliament Gegam Bagdasaryan [spelling of name as received] informed SNARK's reporter Azerbaijani troops violated the Karabakh state border advanced in several directions in Karabakh June 12 night. There are severe battles there. According to the press secretary words, Karabakh self-defence detachments undertook measures on pushing back the enemy which had managed to evade some strategic heights in the Askeran region Karabakh. The press secretary estimated those Azeris actions as "acts of sabotage" directed to destroy all attempts of the CSCE Minsk group on realization of the UNSC Resolution Number 822. Azerbaijan, being informed relating the arguments among Karabakh leadership regarding the CSCE Minsk group peaceful initiative and the complicated current inner political situation in Karabakh, the spokesman continued, is trying to destabilize the situation in Karabakh and disturb to Karabakh leaders NB [as received] consider constructively the CSCE initiative. The spokesman added that the Azerbaijani action is aimed to move from its inner political problems to the Karabakh battle fields. Existence of non-controlled Azeris' platoons near Karabakh borders is a convenient factor to use the Azerbaijani inner political factor in military aims, Bagdasaryan concluded.

### Attack Said Bid To Stop CSCE Response

*NC1406114893 Yerevan SNARK in English 1110 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[Text] Stepanakert, 14 Jun (SNARK)—The battles are going on along the eastern line of the Karabakh front, the Karabakh department of press and information has informed SNARK'S reporter.

As it is known at the night of June 12 the Azerbaijani side undertook the attack in three directions to the defensive posts of the Karabakh Army in Askeran, Martuni and Mardakert regions. The observers are of the opinion that the action was of the aim to draw attention of the Azerbaijani people from the political situation existing in the republic.

The Karabakh Army is undertaking the defensive battles. According to the reports received from the Karabakh department of press and information, both sides have losses. The Azerbaijani side lost three tanks and a military armoured machine. Speaking to the SNARK'S reporter in Stepanakert the press-secretary of the Karabakh Parliament Geham Bagdasaryan has expressed his opinion on the events taking place at the borders of Karabakh. He is sure that the current provocation Azeris took was to prevent the Karabakh leaders to work out the constructive attitude to the CSCE peaceful initiative—the military actions are going on while the Presidium of the Karabakh Parliament is discussing the "schedule of the urgent measures" on the regulation of the conflict which had been suggested by the Minsk group of the CSCE.

### Defense Ministry Declares Adherence to Cease-Fire

*NC1206151993 Yerevan SNARK in English 1356 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] Yerevan, 12 Jun (SNARK)—"Armenia strictly adhere to the cease-fire commitment and awaiting Azerbaijan would also be adhere to them", Press Secretary of Armenian Defence Ministry Armen Dulyan said to SNARK'S reporter. He estimated as "a propaganda lie" the June 12 Azerbaijani mass media information on Armenian advance against Azerbaijan. Armen Dulyan informed that settlements in the Krasnoselsk region and

Krasnoselsk district centre were shelled from the Azerbaijani territory this noon. Armenian defence ministry immediately after the shellings connected to Azerbaijani defence ministry and claimed to stop the fire right now. According to Dulyan's words, the shellings were stopped at 2 p.m. local time.

## Ter-Petrosyan, NKR Leaders Discuss CSCE Peace Accord

*LD1206141693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1325 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 12 Jun—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and parliament head Babken Ararktsyan are meeting today with Georgiy Petrosyan, the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's [NKR] acting Supreme Soviet chairman, and Robert Kocharyan, chairman of the NKR State Committee for Defense, in the rayon center of Goris in southeastern Armenia. The theme of their political talks is the initiative by the Minsk group of the CSCE for a Karabakh peace settlement, which has already received a favorable response from Armenia and Azerbaijan.

This document, which was drafted by nine states, envisages inter alia the withdrawal of Karabakh self-defense forces from Azerbaijan's Kelbadzhar Rayon, in return for safety guarantees for the NKR's civilian Armenian population. Last night, the NKR leadership informed the chairman of the CSCE Minsk group, Italian diplomat Mario Rafaelli, that Karabakh has yet to declare an opinion. The message said that debate of the document had led to disagreements between the NKR leadership and the Karabakh Army Command, which had, in fact, developed into an internal political crisis threatening to send the situation out of control.

### Meeting Ends 'Without Result'

*LD1306111993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Ekho Moskvy radio station has learned that a 12-hour meeting between Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and the leadership of the Supreme Soviet and Defense Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] ended without result in Yerevan on Saturday evening. The question of whether or not to accept the proposal by representatives of the Minsk group of the CSCE on Nagorno-Karabakh was discussed at the meeting. A final decision is expected to be made following an additional conference by NKR leaders in Stepanakert.

## Opposition Party Considers CSCE Peace Plan 'Untimely'

*LD1306163893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1621 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan June 13 TASS—The Armenian Dashnak opposition party said on Sunday that the recent peace plan of the Minsk group of CSCE countries for Nagorno-Karabakh is "untimely" because of a political crisis in Azerbaijan.

"Azerbaijan cannot control political stability and cannot act as a reliable partner at negotiations," the party said in a statement.

However, it added that it welcomes any initiative aimed at the settlement of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh which provides reliable guarantees for the self-determination of Karabakh Armenians.

The party also said that any pressure on the leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh is inadmissible. The position of the enclave towards the CSCE plan should be determined with due consideration of the popular attitude and the opinions of Karabakh Armenians.

## Regional Leaders Meet at Border To Discuss Cease-Fire

*NC1406114193 Yerevan SNARK in English 1110 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[Text] Yerevan, 14 Jun (SNARK)—The leaders of the Idzhevan, Tavush, Noyemberyan region of Armenia and the Kazakh, Akstafa and Tauz regions of Azerbaijan met at the state border between two republics. The Armenian Defense Department has informed SNARK's reporter today of the fact that the representatives of the military departments of both republics participated in the meeting. There were discussed questions connected with the cease-fire along the whole line of the border between these regions and the agricultural works realization. The sides came to a conclusion to install the observers posts and prepare the suggestions to work out the mechanism of the armaments withdrawal. There was achieved the agreement on undertaking the mine clearing works at those parts of the border where the agricultural works are going on, undertaking all the measures to provide life communication.

## Parliament Adopts Bill on Privatization of Houses

*NC1106145093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1900 GMT 10 Jun 93*

[Excerpt] The Armenian Supreme Soviet continued its session today. Before voting on adopting the complete text of the bill on the privatization of Armenia's state and public housing fund, Bagrat Asaturyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Health and Social Affairs, was called upon to address the session.

Thanking the deputies for their valuable suggestions during discussions on the bill, he proposed that the bill be accepted in its entirety, adding that some of the proposals and addenda put forward during the discussions could be resolved when the law is adopted and through other secondary legislative acts.

The parliament adopted the full text of the bill on the privatization of Armenia's state and public housing fund. [passage omitted]

## Azerbaijan

### Decrees Issued Regarding Incidents in Gyandzha

#### National Assembly on Amnesty

*NC1106154593 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0400 GMT 11 Jun 93*

["Text" of Azerbaijan National Assembly resolution on amnesty for rebels in Gyandzha issued on 9 June—all dates as heard]

[Text] The Azerbaijan National Assembly's resolution on the enactment of an amnesty law for participants in the incidents in the city of Gyandzha on 4 and 10 June 1993 is as follows:

1. The law for an amnesty for the individuals who took part in the incidents in the city of Gyandzha on 4 and 10 June 1993, is to be implemented for six months as of the day it is put into effect.

2. The investigation and primary inquiry organs and [word indistinct] are to be assigned the task of implementing the law.

3. The decisions adopted by the investigation and primary inquiry organs in realizing the amnesty are to be put into effect after they are approved by the procurator. The procurator is obliged to attend the court sessions for the application of the amnesty.

4. The officials of Azerbaijan's legislative and central executive organs and the representatives of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, State Committee for Defense, presidential apparatus, Council of Ministers, procuracy, ministries, and state committees must also be considered in the application of Paragraph 3.

[Signed] Isa Kamberov, chairman of the Azerbaijan parliament.
[Dated] Baku City, 9 June 1993

#### Elchibey's Decree on Amnesty

*NC1106160193 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0400 GMT 11 Jun 93*

["Text" of President Elchibey's decree on Azerbaijan National Assembly resolution for an amnesty for rebels in Gyandzha on 9 June—all dates as heard]

[Text] The resolution adopted by the Azerbaijan National Assembly for a national reconciliation on the incidents in Gyandzha on 4 and 10 June 1993 is as follows:

1. Criminal charges will not be brought against individuals who were involved in the armed clashes in the city of Gyandzha on 4 and 10 June 1993.

2. The first provision of this resolution will not apply to:

A. Officials affiliated with Azerbaijan's legislative and central executive organs.

B. Individuals who committed crimes during the armed clashes in Gyandzha on 4 and 10 June 1993.

3. This law becomes effective as soon as it is enacted.

[Signed] Abulfaz Elchibey, president of Azerbaijan
[Dated] Baku, 9 June 1993

#### Presidential Spokesman Comments

*LD1206054593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] Arif Aliyev, head of the Azerbaijani president's press service, has assessed the presidential decree on an amnesty for the participants of the Gyandzha events as a first step toward a settlement of the crisis. At the same time, Arif Aliyev stressed, the decree does not apply to the highest officials of the state, even if their involvement in the Gyandzha clashes is proved. Observers in Baku do not rule out the fact that the head of President Elchibey's press service meant military chiefs and civilian adminstrators close to Geydar Aliyev. Geydar Aliyev is himself currently holding consultations in connection with a possible appointment to a high state position.

#### Investigation Committee Decreed

*NC1106163793 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0400 GMT 11 Jun 93*

["Text" of Azerbaijani National Assembly resolution on the establishment of a parliamentary investigation committee on incidents in Gyandzha; date not given]

[Text] The Azerbaijani National Assembly has adopted the following resolution on the establishment of a parliamentary investigation committee on the incidents in Gyandzha:

1. A parliamentary investigation committee is hereby established to investigate the incidents in Gyandzha on 4 June. Maslahat Mutalibov, member of the Azerbaijani National Assembly, is appointed as head of the committee.

[Name indistinct] Kerimov, member of the Azerbaijani National Assembly, and Vagif (Latifov), Tahir Aliyev, Ibragim Ibragimov, Nusret Mamedov, and (Mir-Baghly Shaykh Said) are appointed as committee members.

2. The republic's independent committee is instructed to report to the Azerbaijani National Assembly on the outcome of its investigation on the incidents in Gyandzha by the end of June 1993.

[Signed] Isa Kamberov, chairman of the Azerbaijani parliament

### Elchibey Meets With Committee

*LD1106195593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1744 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Report by AZERTAC-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku, 11 Jun—A meeting today between Azerbaijan President Abulfaz Elchibey and members of the deputy investigative commission examined ways of getting out of the critical situation that Azerbaijan is in after the well-known events in Gyandzha. The commission was formed two days ago at a session of the republic's National Assembly with the aim of investigating the armed confrontation. The president and parliamentarians noted the importance of the measures being undertaken for the defense of the statehood and preservation of stability in Azerbaijan.

They agreed on a moratorium on press reports on the progress of the investigation into events being declared by decision of the commission. This, in their opinion, will allow overheated heads to cool down. It was reported that this decision has been received with understanding by the republic's mass media as well.

The republican society of solidarity between the peoples of Azerbaijan, "Commonwealth," has also called the leaders of political parties and movements to civil concord. Its appeal was published this evening via the Azerbaijani Telegraph Agency.

### Authorities View Developments in Gyandzha

*LD1106161793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1520 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku June 11 TASS—The Azeri official authorities estimate developments in Gyandzha, a town in the Azeri west, as a "dangerous precedent with far-reaching consequences," head of the Azeri President's Press Service Arif Aliyev told ITAR-TASS today.

In his words, "the refusal of the 709th disbanded brigade, which supports ex-Commander of the Azeri National Army Corps Surat Guseynov, to abide by the disarmament order of the Republican Defence Ministry has led to dangerous confrontation".

The press secretary is sure neither state would tolerate an illegal armed unit. In his connection, he noted "the presence of such a group in Gyandzha has created an additional spot of tension in Azerbaijan, where there is plenty of other hotbeds".

On the other hand, the Gyandzha developments can be also viewed as an attempt "to change the political course in the republic, which advocates broad democratic transformations in society". This is proved "by demands of the opposition and former party apparatchiks on convocation of an extraordinary session to pass the vote of no-confidence in the parliament and the government that follow the chosen path".

The press service head stressed "it is very good this attempt taken by former opponents two days before at a National Assembly meeting failed".

The first step to overcome the crisis has been done. A decree of the Azeri president announced an amnesty to all participants in the armed incident, which does not spread on supreme state officials in case their involvement in the incident is proved.

### 'Extremely Worrying' Situation Viewed

*LD1206165093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1333 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 12 Jun—Geydar Aliyev, leader of the Nakhichevan parliament, met in Baku today with representatives of the Azerbaijani cultural center in Ankara, deputies from Turkey's Great National Assembly, and Turkish businessmen. It was emphasized after the meeting that the guests had arrived in Baku yesterday "alarmed by the dangerous turn of events in their historical homeland."

During the conversation, in which Etibar Mamedov, an influential opposition leader and chairman of the Azerbaijan National Independence Party, took part, various viewpoints were expressed on the situation in the Republic, which has worsened since the tragic events in Gyandzha. The participants agreed that "the present situation in Azerbaijan is extremely worrying and could get worse unless emergency measures are taken."

Aliyev said part of Azerbaijan's territory is now controlled not by the state but by Suret Guseynov, former commander of a corps of the Azerbaijan Army. He also said that he would be speaking on the telephone to Guseynov this evening.

Unlike other politicians, the Nakhichevan leader was cautious in assessing the events in Gyandzha, saying only that at the request of the president of Azerbaijan he had agreed to take part in the peacemaking process and that at present he had no plans to visit this town in the west of the Republic.

Aliyev did not directly answer a question about being offered one of the top posts in Azerbaijan but at the same did not deny that consultations may continue with the country's senior leadership on this question.

### Guseynov Forces Control Access to Black Sea, Georgia

*NC1106130993 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1150 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku, 11.06.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—The loss of control of Gyandzha by Azerbaijani Government may quickly change the geopolitical situation in the whole region. The information of reliable sources about the presence in Gyandzha during the recent events of General Scherbar, the former commander of Russian division in this town, suggests if not direct but indirect participation of Russian in this conflict. Besides, the part of weapons left in Gyandzha by landing division which had stayed there till the end of May, gave Surat Guseynov an opportunity to create a powerful military unit and to hold the second by Rize city of Azerbaijan.

S. Guseynov and his supporters also control, the main road and railway which go from Azerbaijan to Georgia. Thus Baku cut off from the access to the Black Sea and through Georgia to Turkey. Moreover, the Baku-Batumi pipe-line goes through Gyandzha and if to recall that only two variant of Azerbaijani oil transportation to the West were chosen—through Georgia to Turkey and through Iran to Turkey—it becomes clear that the loss of control over Gyandzha cast doubt on the realization of the first variant. As we know Western forms approach the second one rather carefully. In this case Azerbaijan will have only one way out—passing of the pipe-line through Russia to Europe which means that the Republic will become the appendage of Russian oil infrastructure and will lead to the loss of economic independence in the game led by oil superpowers.

### Control Yevlakh, Moving Toward Barda

*NC1206104793 Baku TURAN in English 1018 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku June 12 (TURAN)—[Words indistinct] today in the morning Surat Guseynov's insurgent military group made its way to Yevlakh city, that is to the east of Gyandzha. To the first part of the day, Yevlakh city was under the control of S. Guseynov's forces. According to coming information, now his group is coming to Barda, which is situated to the south of Yevlakh city.

Azerbaijan Defence Ministry notes, that National Army subdivision abstain from any military actions, carring out President Elchibey's order.

### Enter Barda, Meet 'No Serious Resistance'

*NC1206133093 Baku TURAN in English 1230 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku, June 12 (TURAN)—According to the information TURAN agency by 2:30 P.M. [1030 GMT], today military units, loyal to S. Guseynov started to enter district center Barda, that is to the south of Yevlakh. To the unproved reports, the rebels units meet with no serious resistance.

The government troops keep firing on the rebels units.

### 'Insurgents' Nearing Baku

*NC1406085493 Baku TURAN in English 0822 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku, 14 June (TURAN)—This morning subdivisions of Surat Guseynov's insurgents had cut off the way to Gyandzha in 120 km from Baku. They occupied the region centre of Adzhikabul with no resistance.

At present, the subdivisions of insurgents amounting about several hundreds of people, are preparing to move farther towards the capital of the republic.

### Russian Group Said Training Rebel Gyandzha Forces

*NC1206091993 Baku TURAN in English 0823 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku, June 11 (TURAN)—The rebellious 709th Gyandzha Brigade began the preparation on one of the education centre which was inherited of the 104th Russian Landing Division near Gyandzha. TURAN agency was informed about it by one of the serviceman of the National Army who managed to leave Gyandzha this morning. According to him the training of assault detachments of rebels is carried out under the guidance of "Alpha" group instructors of the Security Ministry of Russia.

### National Assembly Appeals for Patience

*NC1206180493 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 11 Jun 93*

["Text" of an appeal by the Azerbaijani National Assembly to the residents of Gyandzha on 11 June—read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters, the tragic fratricide in Gyandzha has deeply grieved Azerbaijan's people and the world community, which respects us. The death of innocent people has deeply grieved not only their families, but also the entire people. The Azerbaijani National Assembly conveys its sincere condolences to the families of the dead.

The fratricide, taking place while Azerbaijan's people wage an unwavering struggle for our territorial integrity and independence, is the outcome of the malicious intentions of the forces that want to plot against our independence. Every one of us must make a citizen's effort to foil that ignoble design and wage a self-sacrificing struggle for unity.

The enemies have welcomed the confrontation of fraternal forces in Azerbaijan. We must end that confrontation, unite, safeguard our state and territorial integrity, and [words indistinct].

The Azerbaijani National Assembly has adopted a law to declare an amnesty for individuals participating in the incidents in Gyandzha on 4 and 10 June. President Elchibey has signed that law, the first serious step by the state to remove the confrontation. The parliamentary investigation committee will investigate the incidents and establish the elements responsible for the tragic situation soon. They will be called to account for their actions.

We believe the forces that control Gyandzha will realize they are responsible for the situation and the potential threat and do everything possible to contribute toward the effort to solve the problems, which have seriously disturbed the republic's people, and to establish stability and mutual confidence. We also believe they will contribute to the effort to have the hostages released and to obstruct the recurrence of armed confrontation.

Esteemed residents of Gyandzha, Azerbaijan's people have had historic and difficult experiences. But foreign and domestic forces have failed to destroy their will. You are urged to be patient and avoid being misled by rumor and emotion in these difficult days. That is the only way stability can be restored.

We convey our condolences to the families of those who died in the tragic incidents in Gyandzha. God bless their souls.

## Profile of Opposition Leader Surat Guseynov

*LD1306150293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Text] Outside Russia, Azerbaijan's politician Surat Guseynov was the most talked about figure last week. Let me remind you that on June 4 exchanges of fire between government troops and armed formations under Surat Guseynov's command started in the town of Gyandzha. Some analysts believe that there is a real civil war in Azerbaijan now: rebel armed formations under Surat Guseynov's command are continuing to build up an offensive in Central Azerbaijan. According to latest reports, having seized the towns of Yevlakh, Barda, and Agdam they are intending to move up to the capital of Azerbaijan.

Surat Guseynov himself used to be general manager of a meat and fat processing combine. Reports from competent sources indicate that he is one of the richest men in Azerbaijan. He was in command of an army that he set up and financed in Nagorno-Karabakh. The most remarkable victories of Azerbaijani troops in the Nagorno- Karabakh conflict are linked with Guseynov's name.

This man is loved by people from the grass roots and is a hero of Azerbaijan's people. Everything is in place to believe that he will play a major political role in Baku in the future.

## Aliyev Seeking 'Full Powers' as Head of Security Council

*NC1106132293 Paris AFP in English 1255 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Excerpt] Baku, June 11 (AFP) - Azerbaijan's former Communist Party chief Geydar Aliyev is seeking full powers as head of a National Security Council in emergency talks with President Abulfaz Elchibey, which went into a second day on Friday [11 June], reliable sources said.

Aliyev, 70, currently parliamentary speaker in the Azerbaijani autonomous republic of Nakhichevan, on Thursday turned down the prime minister's post offered to him after the resignation of Panakh Guseynov. Officials have given no details on the talks, but opposition chief Etibar Mamedov said he was ready to serve on the proposed council as Aliyev's deputy.

Under the proposals put forward by Aliyev, Elchibey would remain as head of state but with greatly reduced powers, observers said.

Elchibey was elected a year ago as head of the Azerbaijan People's Front, which was in the opposition then. The observers said it would be problematical for Elchibey and Aliyev to work together, since they were political foes in the past.

Elchibey spent some months in prison in 1975, during Aliyev's tenure as Communist Party first secretary from 1969 to 1982.

However, it was Elchibey who asked Aliyev to come here this week to help solve the political crisis posed by last week's mutiny in the country's second city Gyandzha, in which 69 people were killed and 200 wounded in fighting between the army and rebel troops.

The uprising was led by Surat Guseynov, who was sacked in February for incompetence as military commander in the breakaway Armenian-dominated enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh. [passage omitted]

### Views Possible Government Nomination

*LD1106160893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1519 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku June 11 TASS—Discrepant information on suggested nomination of Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Parliament Head Geydar Aliyev to an Azeri supreme post continues to stir up the public.

Aliyev himself told members of the National Academy of Sciences "it is premature to speak of the nomination, as negotiations and consultations with Azeri President Abulfaz Elchibey continue".

Aliyev made no comments on the situation that shaped up after Gyandzha developments, as, in his opinion, "any estimation of actions of this or that side may lead to the aggravation of the situation". At the same time, the Nakhichevan leader has "agreed on the president's request to participate in the peace-making process".

Civil concord in Azerbaijan much depends on the stand of intellectuals, noted Aliyev.

The official also met several ambassadors and representatives of the British Petroleum Company, which participates in the elaboration of a project to develop a promising deposit in the Caspian shelf, at the Academy of Sciences.

### Refuses Prime Minister Proposal

*TA1106203493 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2000 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Former Army Corps Commander Surat Guseynov has stated that the rally held in Azerbaijan's Gyandzha town by his supporters should not be assessed as an insurrection.

In a news conference, Guseynov said that neither he nor his supporters favor a division in Azerbaijan, adding that he held the government responsible for the Gyandzha incidents and calling for the resignation of the government, including Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey. Guseynov said that tough measures will be taken if the administration does not resign.

Meanwhile, Elchibey is continuing his contacts with Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet Chairman Gaydar Aliyev. From sources close to Aliyev, it was reported that Aliyev has refused Elchibey's proposal. Instead, Aliyev has proposed that a new state council be established under his presidency.

### Says 'Not Satisfied' With Talks

*NC1206101093 Baku TURAN in English 0825 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku June 11 (TURAN)—Today the Chairman of the [Nakhichevan] Supreme Mejlis Geydar Aliyev said in his talk to TURAN correspondent that he came to Baku on the invitation of the leaders to search to go out of the crisis.

Answering the question whether he has a plan to go out of the crisis Aliyev said that "mutual consultations with the republican leaders are going on. But I am not satisfied by the course of these negotiations and ways to go out of the situation," said Aliyev.

Answering the question of Russia participation in the events in Gyandzha Aliyev said he had not such information. Aliyev refused to answer the question if events in Gyandzha were a rebel.

Commenting the demands of some deputies to summon a special session of the Supreme Soviet Geydar Aliyev said that "the Constitution is to be kept, if the deputies demand the session is to be summoned."

### Discusses Situation With Academicians

*NC1206114693 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev, who has been asked to serve as Azerbaijan's prime minister, today met the members of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences Chairmanship Council at their request. Aliyev said: I have arrived in Baku in response to President Elchibey's invitation. We have discussed how the grave situation in the Republic, which is a result of the tragic incidents in Gyandzha, can be eased and how the Azerbaijani administration can be strengthened. I promised to take part in that process.

Aliyev said this serious situation can be eased through national unity and efforts by intellectuals, scientists, and scholars. Calling on intellectuals to work actively, Aliyev noted the need to mobilize all resources and forces to eliminate the confrontation created by the tragic incidents. He said all potential resources must be used and attention focused on ending the clashes peacefully.

### Aliyev To Head to Gyandzha To Negotiate Peace

*LD1306140793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1348 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Baku June 13 TASS—Former ex-communist boss of Azerbaijan Geydar Aliyev appeared in the republican parliament together with President Abulfaz Elchibey on Sunday and told lawmakers that he is leaving for Gyandzha "in an hour" to broker peace there.

Aliyev, parliament chairman of Nakhichevan, an Azeri enclave cut off from Azerbaijan by Armenia, is expected to be appointed to one of the top positions in the country to stabilise the situation after bloodshed in the western city of Gyandzha.

Aliyev told lawmakers that the situation in the country after the Gyandzha tragedy is "extremely complicated". He said he had arrived in Baku at the request of the president to look for a way out of the crisis.

Aliyev called on lawmakers to promote the unity of society and the restoration of peace in the country. He said that during his meetings in Baku he always stressed the importance of stabilising the situation in Azerbaijan.

Aliyev turned down a proposal of the parliament to create a group of lawmakers which would accompany him during his trip to Gyandzha.

He said lawmakers should have sent such a delegation to the city right after the bloodshed.

"I joined the peace-making process for the sake of stabilisation of the situation and achieving the national accord and I insist on my decision to go to Gyandzha accompanied only by journalists", Aliyev said.

### Denies Deputy Group To Follow

*NC1306150693 Baku AZERTAC in English 1438 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku, June 13 (AZERTAC)—On the special meeting of Azerbaijan national assembly, that was closed right now, the leader of the Nakhichevan parliament Geydar Aliyev declined the suggestion to create a special deputy group to accompany him during his visit to Gyandzha. He pointed out that such delegation could visit Gyandzha right after the bloody events. He said: "I have decided to take part in this peacemaking process for the sake of stabilization of the situation and achievement the concordance in the republic, and in insisting on my decision to go to Gyandzha accompanied only by journalists".

A special group, consisting of Azerbaijan and foreign journalists, including the representatives of Azerbaijan Telegraph Agency, is being formed now right in front of the building of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan. This group is going to leave for Gyandzha within the nearest hour.

### Talks With Rebels

*LD1406084093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[Text] Talks between Suret Guseynov, dubbed the mutinous colonel by the authorities, and Gaydar Aliyev, head of the Nakhichevan parliament, continued behind closed doors virtually throughout the night. Aliyev arrived in Gyandzha on Sunday evening on a peace mission.

ITAR-TASS reports that a news conference is expected today to make the results of the talks public. Local observers believe the outcome of the Gyandzha talks will largely show the extent to which Gaydar Aliyev is in control of the situation. Before departing for Gyandzha, he himself said that the result of the trip will show how effective his forthcoming work will be. The Nakhichevan leader is known to have been offered the post of head of the Azerbaijan parliament.

### Talks With Guseynov

*NC1406085793 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0824 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku, 14 June (ASSA-IRADA)—The first eye-to-eye (?rendezvous) of Geydar Aliyev with Surat Guseynov took place yesterday evening, Mr. Aypara Aliyev, the assistant of S. Guseynov informed ASSA-IRADA reporter. Mr. Geydar Aliyev paid visit to army barracks had talks with elder people and the public figures of the town inspected the houses mortared. The talks between Mr. Surat Guseynov and Mr. Geydar Aliyev are continuing since morning today and meeting are being held in the town with the main demand the resignation of the leadership of Azerbaijan. The residents of Gyandzha regards at Mr. Geydar Aliyev as their saviour, our reporter informs from Gyandzha.

### News Conference Expected

*NC1406112493 Baku AZERTAC in English 1039 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[Text] Gyandzha, 14 Jun (AZERTAC)—The talks between Surat Guseynov, rebellious colonel as the authorities call him, and Geydar Aliyev, the head of the Nakhichevan Parliament, were going on in camera almost all last night long. Mr. Aliyev accompanied by Azerbaijan and foreign journalists arrived on peacemaking mission to Gyandzha last evening. A meeting was held in Gyandzha on the eve of his arrival. Participants of the meeting demanded on resignation of the government and the president as well, convocation of an extraordinary session of the Supreme Council of the republic.

It is expected that the results of the talks will be promulgated at the press conference today at noon.

According to the analysis, the results of the talks will show whether Geydar Aliyev can control this very complicated situation formed in Azerbaijan. Mr. Aliyev himself thinks his future activity will depend on the present talks. The results of this business trip are to show how much effective will be my future activity—Mr. Aliyev said before the departure.

The situation in Gyandzha and surrounding areas controlled by Surat Guseynov is mostly peaceful. Rumours about the advance of Guseynov's armed units are exaggerated, but at the same time the roads to Gyandzha and neighbouring settlements of the west zone of Azerbaijan are controlled by S. Guseynov's units.

### Aliyev, Guseynov Assess Outcome

*LD1406121693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1125 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[By AZERTAC-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Gyandzha/Baku, 14 June (ITAR-TASS)—Talks between Gaydar Aliyev, head of the Nakhichevan parliament, and Surat Guseynov, "the rebel colonel", as the authorities describe him, went on through the night, ending only at noon.

At a meeting with journalists after the talks ended, Gaydar Aliyev reiterated that "he would do everything possible to put an end to the fratricidal conflict." He also announced that he "promised the citizens of Gyandzha that he would push for the punishment of the organizers and those guilty of the tragic events of 4 June."

Suret Gusyenov came out with a more categorical statement, stressing that "he insists upon the fulfillment of the demands he and his supporters have put forward: the resignation of the present leadership of the republic, including president Abulfaz Elchibey, and the convening of an emergency session of parliament." At the same time, Colonel Guseynov declared that "if the people tell him to lay down his weapons, he will submit to that demand." He also did not rule out the possibility that he would take up some state post in Azerbaijan.

The Azerbijan president's former plenipoteniary representative to Karabakh and commander of the Azerbaijan National Army Corps, noted in particular that "he is in favor of a peaceful settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict." At the same time, according to him, "if we do not manage to bring that about then we have forces which can return the lands of Azerbaijan which have been seized."

Gadyar Aliyev also arrived today at the encampment of the 709th Brigade where the tragic events took place on 4 June. He plans to return to Baku this evening.

Meanwhile, a rally by the National Front of Azerbaijan in support of the head of state is taking place outside the office of the president of the republic. Abulfaz Elchibey himself is meeting with heads of a number of diplomatic missions accredited to Azerbaijan.

## Aliyev Addresses 'Emergency Sitting' of National Assembly

*LD1306163393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Text] Addressing an emergency sitting of Azerbaijan's National Assembly, which has just finished, Nakhichevan Parliament Head Geydar Aliyev declined a proposal to set up a deputies group which would accompany him on a journey to Gyandzha. He said that such a delegation could have visited this town immediately after the bloody events that have taken place. Aliyev stressed that he has joined in the peacemaking process for the sake of stabilizing the situation and achieving national accord.

A group of Azerbaijani and foreign journalists is now gathering outside the building of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet. In the next few hours it is to set off for Gyandzha.

## Opposition Leader Warns Azerbaijan 'On Brink of Civil War'

*LD1106133893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1132 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 11 Jun—One of Azerbaijan's opposition leaders, Etibar Mamedov, who is chairman of the National Independence Party, regards the situation which has arisen in the republic since the events in Gyandzha occurred as critical. In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, he particularly stressed that "the drama in Gyandzha is a logical result of the policy which the government has pursued over the last 12 months, and this is precisely what caused the armed clash."

The opposition leader regards the direct fire which was opened on 4 June in Gyandzha as a crime against the people. He is convinced that "the person who gave this order to open fire is a state criminal." Referring to remarks by certain officials who have said that force will continue to be used against "obstinate opponents," he said that "this would not do any good but would further enlarge the conflict zone."

According to Mamedov, "Azerbaijan is now on the brink of civil war." In order to prevent a dangerous development of events, he believes, President Abulfaz Elchibey of Azerbaijan must now bring together the leading political forces. He is also convinced that the initiative for holding consultations with opposition leaders on ways of extricating the republic from its crisis must come from the head of state.

A priority move towards restoring civil peace in Azerbaijan, the chairman of the National Independence Party stressed, ought to be the formation of a government of popular confidence. Such a government, he said, should have the widest powers, for a specific period of time, to make preparations for free parliamentary elections in the republic.

## 'Heated Debate' in Nagorno-Karabakh Over Peace Plan

*LD1106165193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1258 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS—"Heated debate" is going on at a meeting of the Presidium of Nagorno-Karabakh Parliament over the response of the enclave to a new peace plan advanced by the Minsk group of CSCE countries at a meeting in Rome.

The Presidium has not yet arrived to a conclusion, but the answer is expected to be known later in the day, TASS learned by telephone from the press department of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The CSCE initiative has been already apporved by Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The press department said that Speaker Georgiy Petrosyan had informed those present about his meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Security Minister Viktor Barannikov in Yerevan. The meeting focused on the CSCE plan. No futher details were available.

### Russian Ambassador Views Issues

*NC1106173793 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1437 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku, 11.06.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Russia doesn't recognize so called Nagorno-Karabakh republic and speaks for territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. Mr. Valter Shoniya, ambassador of Russian Federation to Azerbaijan has told today at the press conference which was devoted to the anniversary of adoption of declaration on sovereignty of Russia. He refused to comment President Elchibey's statement that Russian weapon was used in the events in Gyandzha. Answering ASSA-IRADA correspondent question what measures are taken by Russia so that its citizens don't participate in Karabakh conflict, ambassador said that Russian Army inherited all the shortcomings of the Soviet Army.

He expressed his regret on the occasion of the death sentence passed on Russian servicemen and emphasized that Mr. Yeltsin letter to Elchibey says Russia will do the utmost to avoid participation of its citizens in such conflict.

### 'Serious Differences' in Talks Viewed

*LD1206033393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0119 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jun—The enlarged session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the State Defense Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh republic [NKR], which started early on Friday morning, continued well into the night. At the session there were heated arguments about the essence of the reply to the CSCE peace initiative that has already been approved by Armenia and Azerbaijan. The initiative, among other things, contains a point about the withdrawal of the Karabakh self-defense detachments from Kelbadzharskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan. This clause of the initiative, which was also in the Russian-American-Turkish plan, is also the stumbling block that has brought the latest peacekeeping initiatives to nought. Those in Karabakh are demanding guarantees for the safety of the people in the event of the detachments leaving Kelbadzhar, which, in their opinion, are not present in the initiatives.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by a source close to the Karabakh leadership speaking by phone from Stepanakert that the NKR leadership, having held consultations until 0100, had not reached a unanimous opinion. Moreover, serious differences had arisen between the NKR leadership and the command personnel of the NKR self-defense army. This conflict is seen by Stepanakert as a threat of a domestic political crisis where the situation could get out of control. In spite of this, in the opinion of the source, a final determination of the official Stepanakert position with regard to the CSCE peace initiative is possible in the coming days. The leadership of the Karabakh parliament has requested additional time for this from Mario Rafaelli, chairman of the CSCE Minsk conference on Nagorno-Karabakh.

According to information from the "Ekho Moskvy" radio station passed on to ITAR-TASS, Mario Rafaelli consented to this. A meeting between Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and members of the NKR Supreme Soviet Presidium and State Defense Committee is due to be held in Yerevan this morning.

### Nagorno-Karabakh Leaders Debate Reply to CSCE

*LD1206133293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0830 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 12 Jun—Last night, Nagorno-Karabakh parliament leader Georgiy Petrosyan informed Mario Rafaelli, chairman of the Minsk CSCE Conference on Karabakh, that the Nagorno-Karabakh leadership has still not made a final decision on the latest initiative by the Minsk group of the CSCE on the settlement in Karabakh and needs to discuss the proposed documents further.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent was offered the text of the message this morning by Nagorno-Karabakh representatives in Yerevan. The Nagorno-Karabakh leader pointed out that the discussion of the CSCE proposals at an expanded session of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] led to serious disagreement among the Karabakh leadership and the higher command of the NKR army. The message emphasizes that these disagreements "practically turned into an internal political crisis, and the situation could get out of hand."

Petrosyan says that everything possible is being done "to prevent a confrontation, but time and effort will be needed to convince the people, "whose psyches were formed under conditions of Azerbaijan aggression, of the rationality and practicality of the proposed cease-fire measures."

It has become known that Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan will meet Petrosyan and State Defense Committee Chairman Robert Kocharyan today in the town of Goris in southeast Armenia. It is expected that the CSCE peace initiative will be examined at the meeting.

### Effective Settlement Mechanism Demanded

*LD1206213193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2056 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[By AZERTAJ correspondent Gekechkhanum Tagieva for TASS]

[Text] Baku June 13 TASS—"Azerbaijan will no longer be satisfied with general phrases and the regular disruption of initiatives by the Armenian side. We demand that the U.N. Security Council and the CSCE work out an effective mechanism, which will guarantee the implementation of the adopted resolutions and envisage clearly defined sanctions against the aggressor," says a statement issued on Saturday by the press service of the Azeri president, following a new military action of the Armenian side.

After a long shelling Armenian armed forces staged a tank attack on Saturday morning in the direction of the Agdam and Agdzhabedin districts of Azerbaijan, the press service reports. According to the existing information, three villages were captured, there were numerous casualties and destruction. The fighting was going on near the village of Shelli, Agdam district.

The statement stresses that Armenia demonstrated by its actions that it had made a choice in favour of the logic of power pressure, the capture of territory and the non-recognition of the basic principles of interstate relations. Such is its stand in the current conflict. The statement stressed: "Azerbaijan has long waited with much patience that Armenia will show a reasonable approach to the situation, based on respect for the standards of international law. We hoped as well that the prestige of the U.N. Security Council, the CSCE, the countries like the United States and Russia, as well as other countries, is high enough for guaranteeing both the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and the rights of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh. However, the aggressive actions of the Armenian side and the inadequate response of the world community to them convince us more and more that the mechanism and principles of the settlement of the conflict, the adherence to which Azerbaijan has always stressed, need to be corrected."

### Armenians Seize Towns in Agdzhabedskiy, Attack Agdam

*NC1206105993 Baku TURAN in English 1019 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku June 12 (TURAN)—This morning the attacks of the Armenian Army in the direction of Agdamskiy and Agdzhabedskiy started.

According to 12 A.M. information, Armenian forces moved forward 7-8 km inland Agdamskiy region and seized the villages Marzli and Yusifdzhanly and the village Giyamadinli in Agdzhabedskiy region. At the same time, the enemy carries out attacks on Agdam town itself. By 1 P.M., the enemy moved forward to 3-4 km in this direction.

According to Defense Ministry information the fights continue.

### Republic Forces Retake Village

*NC1206133593 Baku TURAN in English 1231 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku, June 12 (TURAN)—A big village Marzli on the south of Agdamskiy region was retaken by the sub-units of Azerbaijan military forces today at daytime, Defense Ministry of the Republic reported by 2:20 P.M. [1020 GMT]. The fights in the vicinity of the villages Yusifdzhanly and Shelli are continue.

As TURAN agency already reported, these villages were seized by Armenians as the result of the large-scale offensive carried out in several directions today at 5 A.M. The military actions in the region are continue.

### Azerbaijan 'Offensive' Viewed

*LD1306160493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Text] In the zone of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, Azerbaijan's National Army launched an offensive from Agdam rayon this morning against positions of the Army of Defense of Nagorno- Karabakh in Askeran rayon, after first shelling the positions. The attack was repulsed.

According to RIA, there were also fierce shelling and attacks this morning on the positions of the Nagorno-Karabakh Army of Defense in Mardakert rayon. Fighting is continuing now. Precise information on casualties has not been supplied. The agency learned this at the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Information and Press Department.

### Armenian 'Offensive' in Agdamskiy

*NC1306164593 Baku AZERTAC in English 1550 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku, June 13 (AZERTAC)—According to the defence ministry of Azerbaijan, the Armenian Armed Forces continue their offensive, that they started yesterday. And as a result of this offensive they managed to penetrate 8 kilometres into territory of the Agdamskiy and Agdzhabedskiy Districts of Azerbaijan. Today, early in the morning the fights were in the Agdamskiy District in the direction of the village Jinni. Armenian troops made an attempt to capture very important strategical height Farrukh, that is being held by Azerbaijan Army.

According to the Defence Ministry, today, in the afternoon from the side of Agdere District of Azerbaijan, Armenian troops, after shelling, made another attempt to attack the villages Galaichilar, Alimadatli, some other settlements and the height Farrukh of the Agdamskiy district. According to the defence department, the Armenian military units managed to gain to the height Farrukh, where the fights are going on now.

### Armenia Forces Continue Offensive

*LD1306191893 Baku AZERTAC in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku, 13 Jun—The Armenian armed forces are continuing the offensive they began yesterday, as a result of which they have advanced 8 km into the territory of the Azerbaijani districts of Agdam and Agdzhabedi, AZERTAC says, citing reports from the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Azerbaijan. This morning fighting broke out in Agdam district in the direction of the village of Djinni, and Armenian troops tried to take control of the strategically important height of Ferrukh, which is being held by units of the Azerbaijani army.

The Defense Ministry reports that this afternoon, following massive shelling and preparatory bombardment, Armenian units made another attempt from the direction of the Azerbaijani district of Agdere to attack the villages of Galaychylar, Alimadatly, and other settlements, and also the height of Ferrukh in Agdam district. According to the Defense Ministry, Armenian units have succeeded in advancing on the height where fighting is currently under way.

### Parliament Speaker Kamberov Announces Resignation

*TA1206193293 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1900 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Report by Irfan Sapmaz in Baku]

[Excerpt] Parliament Speaker Isa Kamberov announced his resignation half an hour ago. In his statement broadcast on Azerbaijani television, Kamberov cited the current situation in the country as the reason for his resignation and called on the people to unite around President Abulfaz Elchibey. Following Kamberov's resignation, it was reported that the parliament will convene at 1200 tomorrow. [passage omitted]

### National Assembly Accepts Resignation

*LD1306103793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1006 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevidzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 13 Jun—The resignation of the leader of Azerbaijan's parliament [Isa Kamberov] has just been accepted by the National Assembly of the republic at an emergency session called at noon today. The former speaker said he made the decision to put an end to confrontation in Azerbaijan and to restore civil harmony in society.

The National Assembly then adjourned, pending the expected arrival of President Abulfaz Elchibey. The MP's have insisted upon his presence in the chamber. It has not been ruled out that Gaydar Aliyev, chairman of the Supreme Majles of the Nakhichevan Republic, may also take part in the work of the National Assembly.

It has been learned from confidential sources that the 70-year-old Nakhichevan leader is one of the most likely candidates for the post of head of the Azerbaijan parliament. According to information reaching the ITAR-TASS office in Baku, Aliyev last night continued talks and consultations with Azerbaijan's head of state on rescuing the republic from the crisis it finds itself in since the events in Gyandzha.

On the whole, the situation in Baku is calm. During the night, however, unknown persons caused an explosion outside the Turkish Embassy. The streets of the city are being patrolled by the law enforcement bodies, and military units are under a state of emergency.

### Elchibey To Propose Aliyev as Chairman

*NC1306114893 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0943 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku, 13.06.93 (ASSA-IRADA)— ASSA-IRADA agency knew from the absolutely reliable sources close to Aliyev himself that today at the extraordinary session of Milli Mejlis president of Azerbaijan Abulfaz Elchibey will propose the candidacy of speaker of Nakhichevan parliament vice-chairman of Azerbaijan parliament Gaydar Aliyev well-known statesman and political figure to the post of the chairman of the parliament of Azerbaijan Republic. As we told an hour before the resignation of the speaker of the parliament Isa Kamberov has already been accepted today morning by Milli Mejlis.

### President Elchibey Replaces Commandants

*NC1206122393 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] Here is an announcement: In accordance with President Elchibey's instructions, Namik Kuliyev has been appointed commandant of Bardashevskiy Rayon; Rafik Ali ogly Askerov as commandant of Agdashskiy Rayon; and [name indistinct] Orduhan ogly Azizov as commandant of Lerikskiy Rayon. Rafik Aga oglu Ekperov has been relieved of his duties as commandant of Bardashevskiy Rayon; [name indistinct] Orduhan ogly Azizov has been relieved of his duties as commandant of Agdashskiy Rayon; and Mekhti Dzhebrail ogly Aliyev has been relieved of his duties as commandant of Lerikskiy Rayon.

## Georgia

### Agreement on New Aid Delivery to Sukhumi, Tkvarcheli

*LD1106205393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1955 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 11 Jun—Members of the working group of the Russian State Committee for Emergencies held talks today in Gudauta and Sukhumi on the resumption of humanitarian aid to people living in Abkhazia. According to Sergey Kudinov, head of the working group, the Abkhaz, Georgian, and Russian sides agreed on an operation to deliver humanitarian aid to Sukhumi, Tkvarcheli, and Gagra by sea and land, and to evacuate people from those towns. It is planned to load 35 Kamaz trucks carrying humanitarian aid—flour, wheat, sugar, and medicines—onto three amphibious warfare ships and to deliver them to the port of Ochamchira. From there the trucks will make their own way to Tkvarcheli along a corridor that has been cleared of mines. A barge carrying humanitarian aid will set off from Sochi for Sukhumi, as will the catamaran "Dagomys." It is also planned to deliver some of the cargo to Gagra by truck.

In this way, around 200 tonnes of humanitarian aid will be delivered to Tkvarcheli and approximately the same amount to Sukhumi, while the people of Gagra will receive about 10 tonnes of foodstuffs. Some 350 people have expressed a desire to leave Sukhumi, according to staff of the Russian Federal Migration Service. The number of such people in Tkvarcheli is higher—around 3,000.

The operation is scheduled to begin around 15 June. An essential condition for it is a cease-fire in all the settlements through which the humanitarian aid convoy will have to pass. Specifically, this means an end to the shelling of Sukhumi, Tkvarcheli, and other villages and settlements in Ochamchira rayon.

Tomorrow members of the working group of the State Committee for Emergencies will fly to Ochamchira to sort out issues concerning the clearing of mines in the corridor leading to Tkvarcheli, and to organize the passage of the trucks carrying the humanitarian aid.

## Cease-Fire Announced

*LD1306221693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2050 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi June 13 TASS—The Abkhazian Parliament ordered its Armed Forces to cease fire on the Gumista and the eastern frontlines beginning from June 14, TASS was told by Yuriy Vorobyov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Committee for Emergency Situations.

The ceasefire was ordered to allow humanitarian aid deliveries to the Abkhazian cities of Sukhumi, Tkvarcheli and Gudauta by sea and road.

A corresponding agreement signed in Gudauta and Sukhumi on June 11 by representatives of Georgia, Abkhazia and Russia provides for a ceasefire as a necessary condition for implementing the humanitarian mission in the zone of conflict.

Although there were no reports that the Georgian forces were also ordered to cease fire, representatives of the Georgian-held Sukhumi, who had arrived in Sochi to monitor the aid deliveries, told TASS that Georgian forces are abiding by the ceasefire order of May 20. They said the Georgian forces had not violated the order and only fired back to surpress Abkhazian attacks.

32 heavy Kamaz trucks arrived from Moscow to Sochi on Sunday for delivering 200 tonnes of food to the besieged city of Tkvarcheli with a mostly Russian population.

The trucks are to be shipped by landing craft to Sukhumi from where they are to proceed to Tkvarcheli.

## Aid Talks Continue

*LD1406071493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0644 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shegoleva]

[Text] Sochi June 14 TASS—A team of the Russian Committee for Emergency Situations (RCES), led by Sergey Kudinov, is continuing talks in Ochamchira today with commanders of Abkhazian military formations operating in the Tkvarcheli front line. The talks deal with opening a land corridor for a convoy with relief supplies for residents of Tkvarcheli.

The Abkhazian side promised to give a final answer at approximately 12:00 Monday, ITAR-TASS learned from the RCES headquarters.

The RCES team reported that Abkhazian acting defence minister, Major-General Sosnoliev, had issued an order yesterday to ceasefire in the zone of the military conflict beginning from June 14. The order had been prompted by the need to step up preparations for the humanitarian action, carried out by the RCES.

It was earlier reported that an agreement signed between representatives of the Georgian and Abkhazia sides in Gudauta and Sukhumi on June 11 concerning relief supplies to Sukhumi, Tkvarcheli and Gagra by land and sea, provided that the ceasefire in the zone of the conflict was a necessary condition for carrying out the humanitarian action.

General Uchadze, commander of the Georgian Second Army unit, had confirmed the order on the ceasefire, he had issued on May 19, in the wake of the Russo-Georgian summit meeting. If the sides observe its commitments, the truce will take effect on Monday.

Meanwhile, preparations for the humanitarian action continue in Sochi. "Kamaz" trucks, which arrived there from Moscow yesterday, are being loaded with relief supplies. Sergey Shoygu, RCES chairman, is arriving in Sochi from Moscow today by a special plane. Later in the day, a meeting will be held in the RCES operational headquarters to adopt a plan of carrying out the humanitarian mission.

### Cease-Fire Ignored

*LD1406081093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0730 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 14 Jun—The cease-fire orders issued by the Abkhaz and Georgian military commands are not being obeyed by either side, the ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned from Abkhaz and Georgian sources. The press service of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet has reported that exchanges of machine-gun fire continued on the line of confrontation along the River Gumista until 0030 hours. After midnight, Georgian forces continued subjecting Abkhaz positions to heavy machine-gun fire. Georgian artillery shelled the Ochamchire rayon villages of Chlou, Pokvash, Baslakhu, and Katsikhabla until 0100 hours.

According to the press center of the Georgian forces deployed in Abkhazia, the Georgian forces received the cease-fire order at 2245 hours yesterday, but from 2300 hours Abkhaz formations opened fire on Georgian positions. At 2315 hours the Abkhaz side began attacking Sukhumi with "Grad" rocket launchers and howitzers. The shelling of Sukhumi continued from the sea after midnight. According to the press center, Abkhaz formations launched an attack overnight in the direction of the villages of Pokvash and Merkula, but it was thwarted when the Georgian side returned fire.

The failure to adhere to the cease-fire is making it difficult to carry out the humanitarian operation to deliver aid to people living in the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict zone.

As we have already reported, the agreement by representatives of the Georgian, Abkhaz, and Russian sides to conduct an operation to deliver humanitarian aid to Sukhumi, Tkvarcheli, and Gagra by land and sea, signed in Gudauta and Sukhumi on 11 June, noted that an essential precondition for the operation was a cease-fire in the conflict zone.

## Further on Military Activities in Abkhazia

### Armed Forces Report Shelling

*LD1206113193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0200 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[Text] The press center of the Georgian Armed Forces in Abkhazia reported that it was quiet at the front line along the Gumista River yesterday morning.

By 1500, the opposition began shelling Sukhumi using Grad-type rocket launchers. Some 30 shells exploded in the central area of the city. According to preliminary data, one civilian was wounded.

In the Ochamchira Rayon, the opposition shelled Georgian positions using mortars, grenade launchers, and automatic weapons. The shelling was sporadic and purely provocative. No complications occurred.

This information has been received from the CONTACT agency.

### Abkhazians Note Fighting

*LD1206113593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0931 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 12 TASS—According to Abkhazian Defence Ministry data reaching ITAR-TASS on Saturday [12 June] morning, artillery duels are being fought along the entire line of Georgian-Abkhazian confrontation in Sukhumi sector.

On June 11, the Defence Ministry reports, Georgian troops shelled Abkhazian positions and the populated areas of Eshera and Gvandra from mortars, howitzers and other artillery systems. The Abkhazian side returned the fire, striking weapon emplacements and places of concentration of Georgian troops and hardware.

On the eastern front, throughout June 11 Georgian troops heavily shelled Abkhazian troops' positions and the populated areas of Mokva, Pakuash, Dzhergda, Reka, and Merkula. As a result of the bombardment, according to the same source, there are casualties among the civilian population.

It is also reported that Abkhazian positions near the populated area of Beslakhu were continuously shelled for 18 hours.

### Abkhazia's Nadareishvili on Bombing

*LD1306162593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1200 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Excerpts] This morning we contacted Tamaz Nadareishvili, the chairman of the Defense Council and the Council of Ministers of Abkhazia, who takes part in our program every week, and asked him to analyze the situation in Abkhazia. Here is the recording.

[Begin Nadareishvili recording] Sukhumi was again bombed yesterday. At 2000 exactly it came under fire from rocket launchers and heavy artillery. Up to 50 shells landed in various parts of the town, near the building of the Council of Ministers, our military headquarters, and public gathering places. One person was killed and three were injured. Prior to this, Gulripshi rayon came under fire. One woman was killed and four people were injured.

Last night was relatively peaceful. However, attempts were made to launch an offensive. Our positions on the Gumista River were bombed. We were forced to return fire. The fighting lasted for several hours.

General Kudinov of the Russian State Committee for Emergency Situations arrived in Sukhumi yesterday. We were to meet and agree on humanitarian aid deliveries both to Sukhumi and Tkvarcheli. We lodged a protest because the town had been bombed. One cannot speak of humanitarian aid when the town is being bombed. Most important, the Abkhazian side failed to turn up for these talks. There were our representatives and the Russian representatives; however, Abkhazian representatives did not arrive. This again testifies to the fact that they do not want humanitarian aid deliveries to be resumed. On the contrary, they are trying to mount new provocations in order to damage the forthcoming agreement between Georgia and Russia.

According to our information, the concentration of forces in Tkvarcheli and the Gumista direction is still taking place. Additional equipment and manpower are being moved in. The storming of Sukhumi is still being prepared. [passage omitted]

It has been calm this morning. However, it cannot be ruled out that the town may again be bombed at any moment. We are taking the appropriate measures in accordance with my statement and orders. No sooner had the bombing of Sukhumi begun yesterday than I issued an order to bomb Tkvarcheli and the positions from which we were being fired on. The order was fulfilled.

However, this cannot continue for long. I categorically demand of the leadership and the Ministry of Defense that the appropriate measures be taken against the Gudauta side. The town of Gudauta should be bombed in response to a bombing of Sukhumi.

The situation in Sukhumi is normal. Transportation is working. Unfortunately, there is no electricity. [end recording]

## South Ossetian OMON Carries Out Raid on 'Bandits'

*LD1206181893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1747 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi 12 June TASS—The South Ossetian special militia force (OMON) has staged an operation for routing a large gang in Tskhinvali, Tbilisi official sources reported today.

Four bandits were killed and 30 taken prisoner. The situation is calm in Tskhinvali now. People sighed with relief after the liquidation of the gang which had terrorized the population for a long time, had engaged in robberies and extortions.

Gazzaev, commander of the special militia force (OMON), three militiamen and two civilians were killed during the operation.

## Parliament Issues Decree on Early Russian Pullout

*AU1206162293 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 4 Jun 93 p 1*

["Decree by the Parliament on the Withdrawal of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation From the Republic of Georgia in the Shortest Possible Time" issued in Tbilisi on 1 June]

[Text] In view of the fact that the entry of Russian Armed Forces into the Georgian Democratic Republic in 1921 was an illegal act with respect to a sovereign country, which resulted in the complete occupation and de facto annexation of Georgia and, thereafter, in the forceful inclusion of Georgia as a part of the Soviet Union, and given that the presence of USSR Armed Forces and, subsequently, Russian Federation Armed Forces on the territory of the Republic of Georgia is motivated by nothing other than the mechanical continuation of the aforementioned situation that was created as a result of an illegal action, the Georgian Parliament **decrees:**

1. Russian Armed Forces are to be withdrawn in the shortest possible time from the entire territory of the Republic of Georgia; if the sides do not agree among themselves on the necessary deadlines, a request is to be made to the United Nations to resolve this vexed question.

2. The weapons and munitions belonging to the Russian Armed Forces, which have been nationalized by the decree of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council of 25 November 1991, are to be transferred to the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Defense in accordance with a document of takeover and turnover. In the event of disagreements arising with the Russian side over quotas, a request is to be made to the United Nations to send experts to Georgia to establish that the weapons and munitions being transferred to the republic conform with the quotas.

The transfer of bases occupied by Russian Federation Armed Forces and available weaponry to the Republic of Georgia is to be completed in the first quarter of 1994. If an agreement on the withdrawal of Russian Federation Armed Forces according to the corresponding schedule is concluded [as published] between the Governments of the Republic of Georgia and the Russian Federation, the deadline is to be extended, but to no later than 1995.

3. The Republic of Georgia Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to be entrusted with submitting appropriate recommendations to the Government of the Russian Federation aimed at establishing qualitatively new relations with Russia.

[Signed] **Vakhtang Goguadze, speaker of the Georgian Parliament**
[Dated] Tbilisi, 1 June 1993

## Latvia

### Foreign Ministry Criticizes Yeltsin Statement

*LD1106185293 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 11 Jun 93*

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Latvia considers Russian President Boris Yeltsin's statement of 10 June, in which he links the Russian Army withdrawal from Latvia and Estonia to the issue of citizenship for Russians living there and social issues of military personnel, as a familiar attempt to find an excuse to avoid the implementation of the demand, recorded in the declaration adopted at the Helsinki conference in 1992, to withdraw troops from the Baltic states speedily, systematically, and completely. This is stated in an announcement circulated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today.

It is emphasized in the document that Latvia is categorically against any attempts to link the withdrawal of the Russian troops to any conditions. The Latvian Foreign Ministry points out that Russia itself has repeatedly stated at the international level that there is no such connection.

The document also says that the Russian Foreign Ministry's statement of 11 June, whereby, following incidents between home guards and servicemen of the Russian Army, the latter may be given orders to carry arms when moving and allow the use of them, causes even stronger indignation. The Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that it may only interpret such a statement as open threats against the Latvian state.

If home guards violate Latvia's laws in any of the incidents, they will answer according to Latvian legislation, says the document. This, however, does not allow Russian servicemen to disregard the order of their stay laid down for them.

In the opinion of the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the best way to avoid any incidents in the future is to withdraw Armed Forces speedily and completely.

### Andrejevs Comments on Athens Meeting on Yugoslavia

*LD1306222893 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2001 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[Interview with Foreign Minister George Andrejevs on his return from meeting in Athens, by Mara Platace, at Riga airport on 13 June—recorded]

[Text] [Platace] Tell us please about the specific tasks which prompted you to go to Athens.

[Andrejevs] The Greek Government, the Greek Foreign Ministry, was entrusted with holding a joint meeting of ministers of member states of the North Atlantic Union and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. The Greeks organized this with a very deep sense of responsibility. Until now I have participated in only one such conference, at NATO headquarters in Brussels last December. But then all the ministers and not only ministers, but also all the apparatus of the North Atlantic Union also obviously like to be at some other place, and perhaps also a bit closer to the very source of the Yugoslav crisis, which was also very heatedly debated there.

Everything took place in two parts there. Ministers of the member states of the North Atlantic Union and the delegations which they headed met on the first day. States which are members of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council joined them on the next day. Those are Central and East European countries, including Russia.

[Platace] What was the task of Latvian representatives?

[Andrejevs] The main thing is that we need to ensure each time that there is no step back in the final documents, that the interests of the Baltic states, including Latvian interests, are mentioned, because apart from Yugoslavia and apart from disarmament, so-called possible regional conflicts and regions in general, including the Baltic issue, both concerning the withdrawal of the troops, for the most part, and also concerning our security was also discussed there. [sentence as heard] Therefore, our presence and also our active participation in working out the final documents are definitely needed.

Mr. Kanelis really played a big part there. We also had Arnis Kesters, our representative from Vienna, then our representative who works in the disarmament group in Brussels, (Mils Dalmanis), who works all the time at our mission at the North Atlantic Union.

Our joint work was very important in the course of the preparation of the documents. Everything changes at the last moment, people cooperate and argue, and all that goes on to the table, to NATO Secretary General Woerner, who is then very pleased that all so-called parenthesis have been removed. That means that there are no disagreements concerning the text and then it is very easy to adopt the final document on schedule. Well, unfortunately, parenthesis were left in one clause, but that was not in connection with Latvia; it was concerning relations between Russia and Ukraine.

### Former Communist First Secretary To Go on Trial

*LD1306135193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1258 GMT 13 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga June 13 TASS—Latvian ex-Communist boss Alfred Rubiks will face trial on Monday [14 June] on charges of attempting a state coup when former Soviet crack forces were sent to Latvia in an attempt to surpress its desire to secede.

But Rubiks, 57, have been elected member of the republican parliament, according to unofficial results, and he is to be deprived of immunity first.

Moreover, the article of the criminal code which he is charged with appeared after August 1991, i.e. after the hard-line coup failed in Moscow. That means that the law is being backdated.

Chairman of the Supreme Court of Latvia Gvido Zembiro, who is also the chairman of the vote-counting commission, told reporters that the fate of Rubix is to be decided by parliament.

Leader of the "Equality" Movement Sergey Dimanis insists that Rubiks is to be immediately freed until the parliament decides what is to be done with such an unusual lawmaker.

## Rubiks Ill; Trial Postponed

*LD1406090393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0810 GMT 14 Jun 93*

[Text] I have just been brought a report from our correspondent in Riga, Inaros Skujuns. He reports that the Supreme Court Collegium for Criminal Matters of the Republic of Latvia ordered that the case against Alfred Rubiks, former first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, and Ojars Potreki, the secretary of the Central Committee—who are accused of attempting a forcible state coup—should be held today.

Opening today's session of the court, the judge announced that the hearing of the case is being postponed due the illness of Alfred Rubiks. Demonstrators gathered outside the court building are demanding freedom for Alfred Rubiks.

## Jewish Memorial Vandalized; Gorbunovs Apologizes

*LD1206051293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0507 GMT 12 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Riga June 12 TASS—Latvian parliament chief Anatolijs Gorbunovs on Friday [11 June] described as an overtly hostile provocation the act of vandalism staged at the site of the mass execution of Jews by the Nazis.

On the days when a world congress of Jews is taking place in Riga, people of Latvian background desecrated the commemorative slabs installed at a site in the Bikernieks forest where 46,500 Jews had been shot to death 50 years ago. Criminals daubed swastikas and the words "Jude frei" (free from Jews) on the slabs.

Gorbunovs, in a statement circulated on Friday, apologised to the Jews for the committed crime. He described the act of vandalism as an attempt to denigrate the people of Latvia before the whole world. He emphasised that "the Letts have never stirred up hatred between peoples".

The Latvian parliament chief expressed firm conviction that law enforcement agencies would do their utmost to find the culprits and call them to account.